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THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THE
FRENCH-SPEAKING POPULATION OF NEW BRUNSWICK

by

Hugh G. Thorburn

A report prepared for the Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and Biculturalism

November 1965

PREFACE

The Acadian community has a history which is very different from that of French Canada. The people have been deeply affected by it; therefore the essentials have been presented in this essay, along with a fairly detailed examination of the voting record and social characteristics of the French-speaking areas of New Brunswick. With this as background, the final section offers an assessment of the political role of the Acadians in the political life of the province.

Over 80% French

60-79% French

Other

60-79% French

Over 80% French

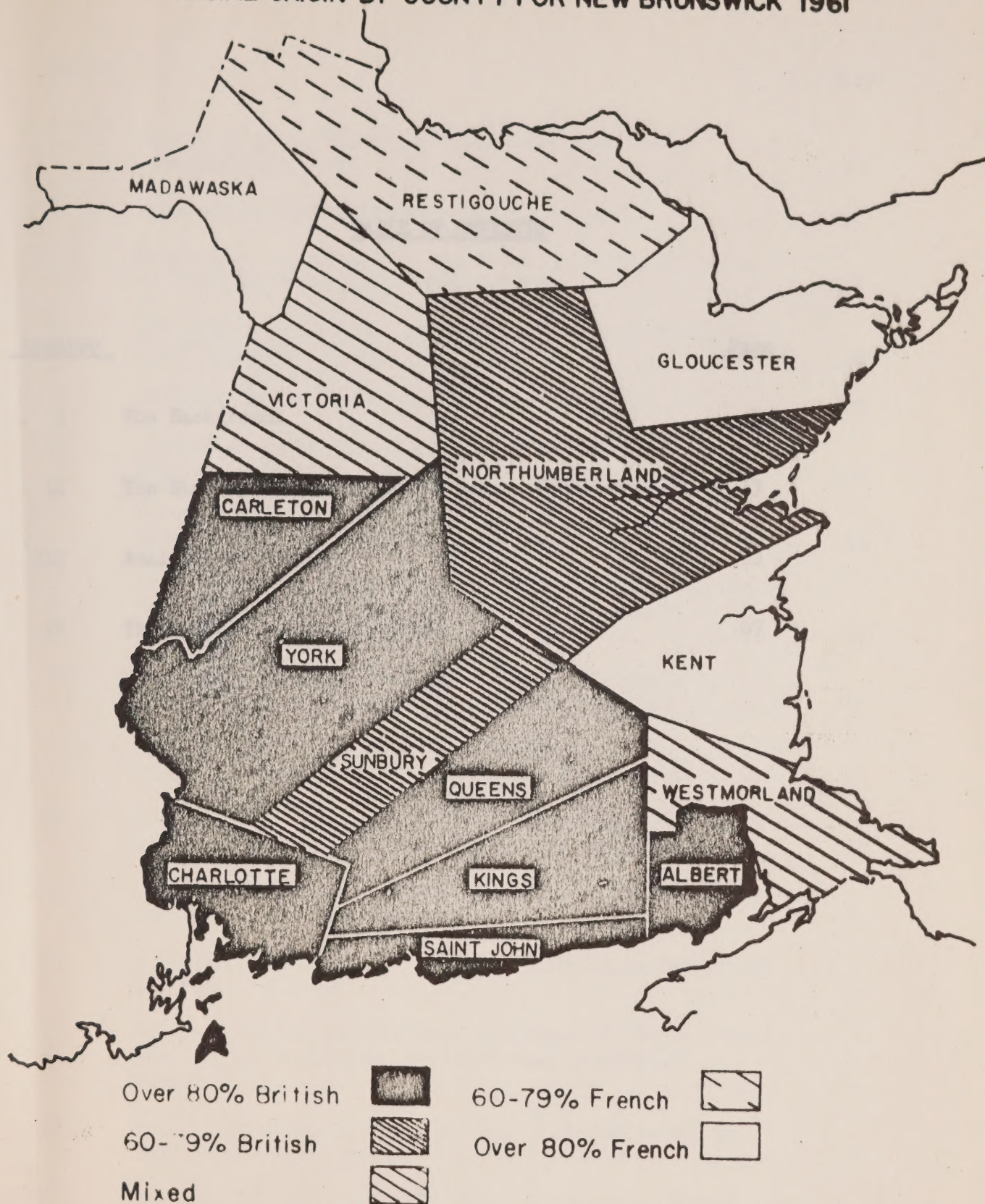
Note: The Census returns were in the classification system



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RACIAL ORIGIN BY COUNTY FOR NEW BRUNSWICK 1961



Note: The Census includes Irish in the classification British

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THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THE ACADIAN POPULATION

I The Background

1. Colonial Period

While the first settlements in the New Brunswick area were made by the French, the area passed under British rule in 1713. The struggle for the control of North America was to continue for another half century after this cession and the French-speaking population sought to live a peaceful life unhampered by the goings-on between the two rival metropolitan powers. The British, however, were distrustful of their new French-speaking subjects and feared that they would side with France in the wars for the mastery of North America. Therefore, in 1755, they expelled the Acadians from their strategically located settlements and scattered them among the British colonies of the Atlantic seaboard. The Acadians, for the most part, made their way back to their homeland and, finding the British in occupation of their lands, made new settlements in the interior, remote from their dispossessioners. After 1763, with the disappearance of French power, the Acadians reconciled themselves to becoming British subjects. The British made land grants to them and the bitterness of the past began slowly to subside. The original Acadian settlements had been along the Bay of Fundy shore and the North Shore, especially in the marshland areas. These were taken over by settlers from New England, the Channel Islands, Scottish Highlands and Yorkshire. The returning Acadians, therefore, were obliged to clear new land farther north, remote from British settlements. They tended to follow the north shore in the direction of Gaspé and also moved inland and founded the Madawaska settlement.

These were isolated subsistence settlements based upon agriculture with an

admixture of fishing and woods operations. They shared very little in the export-oriented economy operated by the English-speaking settlers of the province. As a consequence, the violent economic fluctuations which the English-speaking community of the province experienced affected the Acadians only indirectly. However, the Acadians, in their simplicity, their poverty, and their isolation, were experiencing changes as profound as were those of their English-speaking neighbours. These nineteenth century changes were more social and psychological than economic. As remote participants in the economic growth and prosperity of the colony, they were only slightly affected by the ensuing economic decline. The scattered remnants of the deported Acadians re-established a community based upon the Catholic religion and the deeply felt remembrance of their martyrdom and their survival. When the English-speaking community was experiencing the painful transformation from a dynamic frontier to an economic backwater, the Acadians were reforming their community and gaining in self-confidence, wealth, and political power through increasing population.

Through the two centuries since their expulsion, and no doubt largely because they shared this common heritage, the Acadians looked upon themselves as a people, almost a nation, distinct from the other French-speaking North Americans. Because they have lived in isolation until recently, this attitude has had time to impress itself upon their consciousness; and since their communities have developed in relation to those of the English-speaking Maritime Provinces, they have had to develop a rigorous folk myth in order to resist absorption. This myth has centred on the expulsion as a dramatic symbol of their martyrdom and their survival and has been associated with devotion to the Church which has been their source of comfort in distress. Through the years of pioneer adversity, the Church served as a constant agent of unity for them. It, ironically, was also within the Church that the battle

was fought to determine whether the Acadians were to retain their French language and customs, or to assume the English-speaking but Irish culture of the hierarchy of the Maritimes. They won their battle within the Church, but to do so they had to organize strong pressure groups and develop an awareness of themselves as a distinct people. Their victory in the realm of the Church, where they were bound to win by sheer weight of numbers, gave them the confidence and the organization to defend what they considered to be their rights in other spheres of life. Having won this battle, they presented a strong and solid front to the world outside. With their own prelates as their acknowledged leaders, they have developed institutions and agencies to further their ends and solidify their unity. Newspapers, in particular L'Evangeline; the national association, La Société Nationale des Acadiens; the mutual insurance and benevolent society, La Société l'Assomption; the university, l'Université de Moncton with affiliated colleges in Edmundston and Bathurst; the pressure group for religion and the French language in schools, l'Association Acadienne d'Education; the Acadian teachers organization, l'Association des Instituteurs Acadiens; the credit unions and co-operatives - all serve to preserve their awareness of themselves as a distinct and separate group.

The road toward the development of the modern Acadian community with the institutions cited above was a long and tortuous one. From a beginning as a series of tiny isolated settlements which sought to have as little to do as possible with the English dispossessor, the Acadians did as best they could without civil or religious authority. Their communities were preoccupied with the problem of survival. To perform basic public functions they usually set up a council of older men; these acted as priests, registering marriages, baptizing children, burying the dead, and holding religious observances called messes blanches, and the other basic activities

associated with local government. Many Acadians scarcely ever came into contact with the English-speaking communities of the province during their entire lives. As Catholics, they were excluded from politics by the requirement of an oath of non-belief in transsubstantiation (the so-called serment du test). As a result of this isolation, there were virtually no Acadians in commerce or industry and practically none with either capital or learning; they lived apart by farming and fishing. Not until 1846 was an Acadian elected to the legislature - almost a century after the deportation.

2. The Struggle Within the Church

It was within the Church, rather than in politics or economic life, that the Acadians made their first significant impression. They had always been a pious and devoted people who found in religion a more profound experience than politics. Their first leaders were priests and, therefore, leadership would naturally first be felt within the Church itself. Since from the very beginning the Acadians comprised a majority of the Catholic population of the province, they expected a large number of their priests to be French-speaking. Here they were disappointed because the Irish monopolized the positions in the hierarchy and generally favoured the appointment of Irish or Scottish priests even to Acadian parishes. Naturally, under these circumstances the Acadians, led by a few French-speaking priests, pressed for their share of positions within the Church. This campaign drew them together in a coherent body to secure this goal. This marks the beginning of the organized defence of Acadian interests. In 1842, New Brunswick was elevated to the position of a diocese within the Church and the first bishop was an Irish cleric, William Dullard. At this time there were nine Acadian parishes in the province, six of which were ministered

to by French-speaking priests. All of the seminaries which produced priests for the New Brunswick area were English-speaking. Clearly, the Church itself assumed that the Maritime Provinces were English-speaking and all who chose to live in them must accept English as the official language. This assumption, however, was never accepted by the Acadians. However, their poverty, isolation, and lack of education meant that they were slow to make their resistance noticeable, let alone effective. True progress would come only with the achievement of specific goals within the Church - and this meant a campaign to secure a fair share of episcopal appointments for French-speaking clergy.

The first step was the training of Acadian youth for leadership. To this end, Father Lafrance, priest at Memramcook, established a school in 1854. This school underwent many vicissitudes but in one form or another survived and is the nucleus from which the present University of Moncton grew. Apart from it, however, virtually all the education that the Acadians received was in the English language. Then in 1874, Father Marcel Richard established the Collège Saint-Louis in Kent County. It enjoyed eight years of modest success until Bishop Rogers of Chatham accused the college of not teaching sufficient English and of treating Irish pupils unfairly. He withdrew his patronage forcing the college to close in 1882. This incident provoked sharp hostility towards Monsignor Rogers and the Irish in general. The Acadian newspaper, L'Evangeline, accused the Irish clergy of being unsympathetic to the Acadian desire to retain the French language, and their "nationality". This charge divided the Acadians, some of whom considered it a piece of effrontery if not a sacrilege, while others viewed it as a statement of simple truth. Bishop Rogers was particularly agitated and snubbed Father Richard, who had been sent to a backwoods parish after his school closed. Father Richard then requested his exeat from the diocese and tension mounted between the Acadians and the Irish. After

suffering further humiliation from Bishop Rogers, Father Richard submitted his case to Rome. He was told to show humility and respect. He acceded, but his case became a cause célèbre among the Acadians, symbolizing their own "martyrdom".

From this incident, the Acadian leaders concluded that the only means whereby they could secure the Acadian interests against the Irish bishops was to connive at the appointment of an Acadian bishop who could defend the interests of his people. Two Acadian leaders, Judge Landry and Senator Poirier, launched a campaign for the appointment of an Acadian bishop. Their cause, however, did not meet with success as the new coadjutors were all English-speaking. The campaign went on and feelings mounted on both sides. At this point the only channel left open was a request to the Holy See. Two petitions went without result to Rome and finally in 1904, Monsignor M. F. Richard was prevailed upon to go to Rome to press for the appointment of an Acadian bishop. He secured the assurance of the Pope that an Acadian diocese would be created. However, when no action followed, feelings mounted further. Again, in 1910, Monsignor Richard went to Rome to request an Acadian bishop from the Holy See. Once again, he received the Pope's assurance that one would be named and indeed the Irish bishops were advised to include an Acadian name among those submitted for episcopal rank. They suggested the name of Father E. A. LeBlanc, a parish priest in Weymouth, Nova Scotia, a modest man who commanded no influence outside his parish. It was expected that he would be a moderate bishop, and that his appointment would mollify Acadian sentiment. He was named bishop of Saint John, the area of the province where the Acadians were least numerous. The Acadian ambition for a bishopric at Moncton remained frustrated. They got their bishop, but in a way least likely to satisfy their nationalist ambitions.

This protracted struggle, culminating in this half-victory, was of profound

importance to the Acadians. It served to unite them in a cause, and to call forth leaders from their midst. As a religious struggle, it enlisted their interest and their zeal; as the struggle was within the Catholic community, it involved them where they constituted the majority so that they were confident of final victory in a cause that was, to themselves at least, just. It served as a precedent for subsequent appointments, so that now the Acadians enjoy the majority of episcopal places in New Brunswick.

3. Acadian Organizations

This nationalist struggle for recognition within the Church inspired the formation of lay organizations dedicated to the Acadian cause. Most important of these was the Société Nationale l'Assomption, now known as the Société Nationale des Acadiens, which is patterned after the French-Canadian Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste. At its first convention at Memramcook in 1881, 5,000 persons attended and chose the day of the Assumption as their national celebration day. At their second convention in 1884, the tricolore étoilé (the French tri-colour with a papal star in the blue next to the staff) was adopted as the national flag of the Acadians and the Ave Maria Stella was chosen as their anthem. With these the movement had symbols to inspire unity and loyalty.

Another organization, la Société Mutuelle l'Assomption, has taken up the task of organizing the Acadians and sustaining their interests in the nationalist cause. This is a fraternal organization that provides mutual insurance for its members. It was founded at a convention in Fitchburg, Mass., in 1903. Its object is stated in its constitution as: "1. to rally the Acadians under one flag; 2. to aid members who fall ill; 3. to provide financial benefits to the families of

deceased members; 4. to guard the Acadians' language, customs, and religion."

In addition, a fund was set up to aid in the education of young Acadians. In 1907, the society was incorporated in New Brunswick where it had 72 chapters with 4,320 members. It declared French to be its official language, and membership was restricted to Acadians who were practising Catholics. Therefore, the organization became a spearhead of the Acadian nationalist movement. It held frequent conventions and supported nationalist causes. In 1913, it began to act as an insurance company. Membership has increased from 37,679 in 1945 to over 85,000 in 1965. It has provided a nucleus around which Acadian self-confidence could form. It brings together like-minded people in a cause, and provides capital for projects such as educational assistance and loans for construction of schools and hospitals. The erection of the impressive modern headquarters building in Moncton is an indication of the society's success and stands as an inspiration to the Acadian cause. Its leading officers constitute a nucleus of Acadian leaders who are active in furthering the cause of their people with the governments, with local school boards, with business organizations, etc.

Another important Acadian organization is l'Association Acadienne d'Education du Nouveau-Brunswick. It was founded in 1936 at a meeting held in Campbellton at the initiative of Monsignor Patrice Chiasson, Bishop of Bathurst. Its object was to represent the claims of the Acadians in the field of education before the provincial authorities. It adopted the slogan "Dieu et langue a l'école" and stated its object as "the just complaint for the scholastic rights of the Acadians of New Brunswick to conserve their language in order to be sure of their survival as a Catholic and French entity." It maintains a permanent secretariat, holds congresses every three years for the study of educational problems, and presents memoranda to the provincial authorities to claim its rights.

4. Newspapers

The Acadian newspapers have played an important role in the development of a united and self-conscious Acadian community. First of these to be established was the Moniteur Acadien published at Shédiac from 1867 to 1918. It was a weekly paper, Conservative in persuasion, which defended Acadian rights and privileges. It died in defending the conscription laws passed by the Borden Government in 1917. Another and much more successful paper is l'Evangeline, which was established at Digby, Nova Scotia, in 1887, and thence moved to Weymouth. It has always been a nationalist paper. In 1905 its proprietor, Valentin Landry, moved the paper to Moncton. It became embroiled in conflict with the Knights of Columbus which it designated as a Catholic organization controlled by the Irish in which the Acadians were mere dupes. In 1910, after being condemned by the apostolic delegate, the paper was sold to a specially constituted company and Valentin Landry departed. The new editor, J. O. Gallant, carried on the nationalist orientation of the paper and it became embroiled in several controversies defending the Acadian cause. In 1918, after the Moniteur Acadien ceased publication, l'Evangeline was the main voice of the Acadians. It became in the following year a bi-weekly newspaper; and in July, 1931, a daily paper, with the support of the Société Mutuelle l'Assomption. This ambitious undertaking met with difficulties because of the prevailing economic depression; and after fourteen months the paper had to revert to bi-weekly publication. During the second World War, at the suggestion of Monsignor Norbert Robichaud, Archbishop of Moncton, the paper became a daily once again with financial support coming from le Comité de la Survivance Francaise and la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste, both of Quebec. In 1947, the paper became a bi-weekly; in 1948, a tri-weekly; and in 1949, a daily, under the editorship of Emery LeBlanc. The paper is distributed throughout the French-speaking areas of

New Brunswick and to a lesser extent in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Quebec. However, the bulk of its subscriptions are in the Moncton area and in the counties of Kent and Gloucester.

L'Evangeline publishes national and international news and matters of local interest. It is unwavering in its support of all things Acadian, and reports all events involving Acadians fully. Its strongly nationalistic editorials stress the importance of religious observance and the French language as a defence of the Catholic religion. It urges its leaders to take pride in their French heritage and avoid anglicizing influences. It presses for greater Acadian representation in the House of Commons, the Senate, the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick, the bench and in municipal councils. In recent years the paper has become more cosmopolitan. It carries more foreign and national news, and includes material from the Agence France Presse, which gives it a wider perspective than in the past.

The paper has always faced financial problems and has had to rely on donations from outside groups to make its way. The burden fell especially heavily upon the Church; therefore, in 1964 a committee was appointed to investigate the operation of the newspaper and report to Archbishop Robichaud. The committee was made up of leading Acadian laymen. Its report was published in July, 1965, and favoured setting up the paper on a commercial basis, separating the paper from the printing business, making it a paper Catholic in inspiration rather than obedience, and putting it in the hands of a holding company, la Compagnie de Gestion Atlantique Ltée. The report revealed that the paper only reaches six percent of the Acadian homes in Madawaska County, 11 per cent in Victoria, 14 per cent in Northumberland, 18 per cent in Restigouche, 26 per cent in Gloucester, 27 per cent in Westmorland, and 34 per cent in Kent.¹

1. L'Evangeline, July 17, 1965.

5. Political Representation

In politics, Acadian progress has been slow, but continuous. In 1846, Armand Landry of Memramcook was elected as the first Acadian to sit in the Provincial Legislature. Defeated in 1850, he succeeded in his third bid in 1853, only to meet defeat again in 1857; he was re-elected for a third time in 1861. At the pre-Confederation Quebec Conference of 1864, the Acadians of New Brunswick were not represented. However, in 1867, Auguste Renaud, a Buctouche school teacher, was returned as the first member of Parliament for Kent County to the new federal Parliament. He was a pro-Confederation Conservative. In the same election, another Acadian, Israel Landry, met defeat in Westmorland County.

Table I shows the Acadian representatives in the House of Commons since Confederation. Before 1900, three Acadian counties returned English-speaking members in 18 out of 24 instances. These were usually Irish Catholics who secured the Acadian vote partly out of religious considerations. The Hon. John Costigan and Timothy Anglin were considered the nation's foremost spokesmen for the Irish-Catholic interest; yet they represented Victoria and Gloucester respectively. Costigan sat continuously from 1867 until 1908, and Anglin from 1867 to 1882. In Kent, the Acadian interests predominated early. The Acadians have been continuously represented by at least one of their own since Confederation, except for the short period from 1872 to 1878. Presently since 1963 a bilingual Irish Catholic has represented the county.

TABLE I
FRENCH-SPEAKING MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FROM NEW BRUNSWICK 1867-1963*

Year	Gloucester	Kent	Victoria	Restigouche- Madawaska	Total M.P.'s for Province
1867	T. Blanchard C	A. Renaud C			15
1872	O. Turgeon L	O.J. Leblanc L			16
1874	O. Turgeon L	O.J. Leblanc L			16
1878	O. Turgeon L	O.J. Leblanc L			16
1882	O. Turgeon L	F.J. Robidoux C	P. Michaud L		16
1887	O. Turgeon L	A.T. Leger O			16
1891	O. Turgeon L	A.T. Leger L			16
1896	O. Turgeon L	A.J. Doucet C			14
1900	O. Turgeon L	A.E. Bougeois L			14
1904	O. Turgeon L	T. Arsenault C			13
1908	O. Turgeon L	L.F.A. Robichaud L			13
1911	O. Turgeon L	A.D. Leger L			13
1917	O. Turgeon L	A.J. Doucet C	P. Michaud L		11
1921	O. Turgeon L	A.J. Doucet C	P. Michaud L		11
1925	J.G. Robichaud L	A.E. Bougeois L			11
1926	P.J. Veniot L	T. Arsenault C			11
1930	P.J. Veniot L	L.F.A. Robichaud L			11
1935	P.J. Veniot L	A.D. Leger L			10
1940	C.J. Veniot L	A.D. Leger L			10
1945	C.T. Richard L	A.D. Leger L			10
1949	C.T. Richard L	A.D. Leger L			10
1953	H. Robichaud L	H.J. Michaud L			10
1957	H. Robichaud L	H.J. Michaud L			10
1958	H. Robichaud L	H.J. Michaud L			10
1962	H. Robichaud L	G. Crossman L			10
1963	H. Robichaud L	G. Crossman L			10

*Showing members elected at general elections only.
NOTE: L indicates Liberal, C Conservative, and O Opposition.

II The Electorate in the North-eastern Counties

1. The General Setting

New Brunswick is roughly square in shape. A line drawn from the northwest to the southeast divides the predominantly English-speaking counties from the predominantly French-speaking ones. The area north and east of the line is the French-speaking and Catholic part, and the area to the south and west is mainly English-speaking and Protestant. The exception to this general division is the Miramichi Valley which is still mainly English-speaking. For this study the counties are classified as English-speaking, French-speaking and mixed. This classification is shown in Table II.

In the province as a whole, the English-speaking population is still in the majority, although its relative position is declining. The 1961 census shows 329,940 people whose ethnic origin is British Isles and 232,127 whose ethnic origin is French (or 55.2 per cent British as against 38.8 per cent French). This contrasts sharply with the situation in 1871 when the population of British origin comprised 79.2 per cent of the population and that of French origin comprised only 15.7 per cent. Over this 90-year period, the population of French origin has increased by over fivefold, whereas the population of British origin is not yet half again as much as it was in 1871. Because of this disparity, the age distribution of the two groups is different. Children (under 20 years) in the English-speaking counties comprise from 39 to 45 per cent of the population with the single exception of Sunbury, whereas in the French-speaking counties the figures range from 52 to 55 per cent. The 20-54 years age group is the largest in the English counties, ranging from 38 to 43 per cent; whereas in the French-speaking counties, this group accounts for only one-third of the population. Youth predominates in the French-speaking areas.

TABLE II

Counties of New Brunswick by Ethnic Origin *

County	Percentage of British Isles Origin	Percentage of French Origin
<u>English-speaking Counties</u>		
Albert	83	3
Carleton	91	3
Charlotte	88	6
Kings	87	4
Queens	83	8
Saint John	77	14
Sunbury	71	17
York	85	6
<u>French-speaking Counties</u>		
Gloucester	14	85
Kent	15	82
Madawaska	5	94
<u>Mixed Counties</u>		
Northumberland	63	31
Restigouche	29	68
Victoria	50	42
Westmorland	50	44
<u>New Brunswick</u>	55	39

* Computed from Census of Canada, 1961, Bulletin 1.2-5, Table 37.

New Brunswick as a whole has a larger proportion of very young people than the provinces of central and western Canada. This is traceable to two factors: (1) New Brunswick has one of the highest rates of natural increase of any of the Canadian provinces, and (2) migration tends to be away from New Brunswick to other provinces. It is the young adult population that is most likely to migrate. As a result, New Brunswick has not been affected by the dislocating influence of a new immigrant population bringing different folkways with it. Instead, it has been bypassed by the stream of immigration. It has continually lost a considerable portion of its own young and vigorous population. Small wonder, then, that the province holds on to old ways in politics. It has not had change thrust upon it since Confederation.¹

New Brunswick is a predominantly rural province; and it is well known that the rate of increase in rural populations is ceteris paribus, greater than that of urban populations. It is the French-speaking population which is predominantly rural (78 per cent compared to 48 per cent for the English). Apart from the factors of culture and religion, therefore, one would expect the French-speaking population to have a higher rate of natural increase than the English-speaking population.

The effect of external events has been to turn New Brunswick's attention inward on its own problems. The precarious majority position held by the English-speaking population is the most important political fact in the province. The increase of French-speaking population has not been confined to the predominantly French-speaking areas but is found all over the province to some degree. Between 1901 and 1961, the percentage of French-speaking inhabitants increased in every county of the province without exception. As Table III reveals, these increases

1. Persons under 20 years of age comprise 47 per cent of the population of New Brunswick, 43 per cent of that of Nova Scotia, 39 per cent of that of Ontario and 44 per cent of that of Quebec. Census of Canada, 1961, Bulletin 1.2-2.

TABLE III

Percentage of Persons of French Origin in the Counties
of New Brunswick, 1901, 1951 and 1961*

<u>County</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>
Albert	1	2	3
Carleton	1	3	3
Charlotte	1	5	6
Gloucester	81	86	85
Kent	67	81	82
Kings	1	3	4
Northumberland	19	30	31
Restigouche	44	67	68
Saint John	1	10	14
Sunbury and Queens+	2	14	14
Victoria and Madawaska+	63	74	77
Westmorland	37	43	44
York	2	5	6
New Brunswick	24	38	39

*Census of Canada, 1961.

+These counties are grouped together in the 1901 census, and in this analysis must be classed as units.

tend to be, on a percentage basis, greater in the English-speaking counties than in the French-speaking ones. New Brunswick's population is largely made up of persons born in the province. The 1961 census indicates that 87 per cent of the population was born in the province, 1 per cent in Europe, $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in the United Kingdom and slightly over 1 per cent in the United States. The percentages of New Brunswick born people in the Acadian counties is especially high: 96 per cent in Gloucester county, 97 per cent in Kent County. Madawaska has 89 per cent. (See Table IV).

Economically, New Brunswick is very diversified. Its economy, being largely rural, is mainly primary. Concentrated in the north shore counties is forestry, the province's main industry, although recently discovered mineral deposits point to an increasing concentration upon the extraction and refining of base metals. Farming in the north shore counties is largely of a subsistence nature. The best agricultural area of the province is in the Saint John River valley which is populated largely by English-speaking people. In the northern part of Victoria county and in Madawaska county, however, there are prosperous potato farming operations in the hands of French-speaking people. Fishing is an industry with much promise in the north shore counties, although presently it does not absorb a large proportion of the male labour force.

Thus, New Brunswick is in no way an economic unit; rather it consists of several small regional economies that have few interests in common. The population is scattered along the shore and the valleys of the Miramichi and Saint John Rivers. Add to these economic differences between regions the cultural differences based upon

TABLE IV

NEW BRUNSWICK COUNTIES SHOWING BIRTHPLACE
OF POPULATION, IN PERCENTAGES

	<u>N.B.</u>	Other Maritime	Quebec	Ontario	U.K.	U.S.A.	Europe
Albert	82	9	1	3	2	1	1
Carleton	91	2	0	1	3	2	1
Charlotte	86	4	1	1	2	5	1
Gloucester	96	1	2	1	0	0	0
Kent	97	1	1	0	0	1	0
Kings	86	4	1	2	3	1	1
Madawaska	89	0	7	0	0	3	0
Northumberland	90	3	1	2	1	0	1
Queens	91	3	1	1	2	1	1
Restigouche	87	1	9	1	0	1	0
Saint John	84	7	1	2	3	1	1
Sunbury	54	20	3	9	3	1	3
Victoria	91	1	2	1	1	3	1
Westmorland	84	9	1	2	2	1	1
York	86	4	1	2	3	1	1
Province	87	5	2	2	2	1	1

Census of Canada
Bulletin 1.2.7
Table 51.

ethnic origin and other factors, then one can readily see why an intense localism is such a prominent characteristic of New Brunswick politics. The Acadian population of Westmorland, Kent, and Gloucester counties has the tradition of unity based on their common descent from the Acadians expelled in 1755. This has been built into a cult with a patron saint, the Blessed Virgin of the Assumption, a flag, the Tricolore Etoilé, a lodge, the Assumption Society, an anthem, the Ave Maria Stella, and a daily newspaper, L'Evangeline. Moreover, the emphasis on their "martyrdom" does not serve to bring them closer to their English-speaking neighbours, descendants of their dispossessors, or even the French-Canadians whose tradition is quite different.

The Acadian tradition is one that has looked to the past and centered on religion.

³
The Acadians are largely rural, and tend to be concerned chiefly about local matters such as the condition of local roads. Because their educational attainments are still below those of the rest of the population, few of them see beyond their local confines and they hesitate to press their claims for increased representation in the legislature and civil service. This is left to the small elite centred in la Société l'Assomption, L'Evangeline and the Church. The population as a whole sees its numbers growing and this gives it assurance that in the long run its desires will be met.

The Acadians are content to send English-speaking representatives as well as their own to the legislature in both Kent and Gloucester counties, although both counties are over 80 per cent French-speaking. This alone refutes the claim of Acadian militancy.

The difference of per capita income of the various provinces is shown in Table V. Of the ten provinces, New Brunswick is in eighth place, followed only by Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland.

3. 78 per cent of the French-speaking population of New Brunswick was rural in 1961. 1961 Census, Bulletin 1.2-9. Table 65.

TABLE V

Personal Income Per Person by Provinces, 1963*

Newfoundland	\$1,029
Prince Edward Island	1,075
Nova Scotia	1,283
New Brunswick	1,151
Quebec	1,504
Ontario	2,019
Manitoba	1,664
Saskatchewan	1,890
Alberta	1,747
British Columbia	1,957
Yukon and Northwest Territories	1,333
Canada	1,734

*National Accounts, 1963 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer)

Thus New Brunswick is one of Canada's poorer provinces and carries the marks of poverty. Table VI shows the educational attainment of her citizens beside those of her neighbours and the country as a whole. With the exception of Newfoundland, New Brunswick has a larger proportion of its population who have never attended school (9 per cent) and, with the additional exception of Quebec, a larger proportion who have not gone beyond Grade IV (10 per cent) than any other province. In addition, New Brunswick has the largest proportion of its population that has between a Grade V and a Grade VIII education of any province. Only 6.8 per cent of its population has gone beyond Grade XII compared to the national average of 12 per cent. The main reason appears to be the predominantly rural nature of the province, combined with the low average income of its citizens. The more urbanized and wealthier English-speaking citizens have a record of considerably more years of schooling than the French-speaking.

The rate of population growth of the Acadian population has been almost constant. In Figure 1, the line showing the rate of growth is almost straight. This means that from 1871 until 1951 this group has continued to increase at a constant rate. It has shown little or no sensitivity to economic fluctuations and immigration; therefore, one must conclude that the economic life of these people has not changed so as to affect their rate of increase. Also, apparently, immigration has been sufficiently constant or sufficiently small in scale to have virtually no effect on the rate of increase. Only in the last decade, from 1951 until 1961, do we see the curve beginning to bend slightly downwards. The population of British origin, on the other hand, shows extreme sensitivity to economic change: it grew vigorously until 1881 and then, paralleling the economic decline of the province, it fell until 1911. Thereafter it has been increasing at a very low rate.

TABLE VI

HIGHEST GRADE IN SCHOOL ATTENDED
FOR POPULATION OF SELECTED PROVINCES 1961 IN PERCENTAGES

Province	No Schooling	Elementary		Secondary 9-12	University 13+
		1-4	5-8		
New Brunswick	9%	10%	41%	33%	7%
Nova Scotia	4%	7%	33%	49%	7%
Prince Edward Island	6%	6%	39%	42%	7%
Quebec	6%	12%	40%	30%	12%
Ontario	4%	5%	37%	40%	14%
Newfoundland	11%	18%	32%	34%	5%
Canada	6%	8%	36%	38%	12%

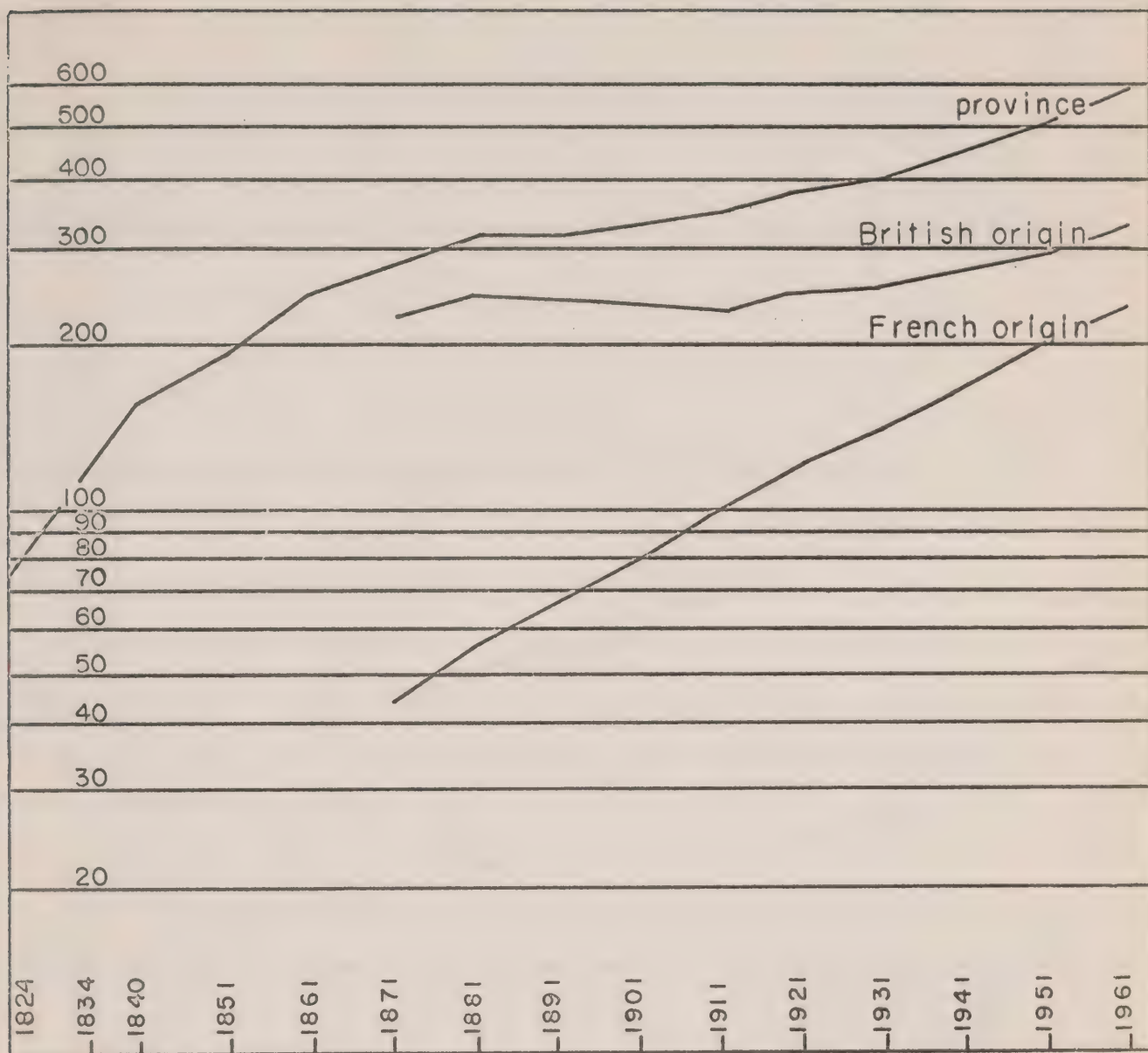


Figure 1. Rate of Change of Population for New Brunswick 1824-1961, in Thousands.

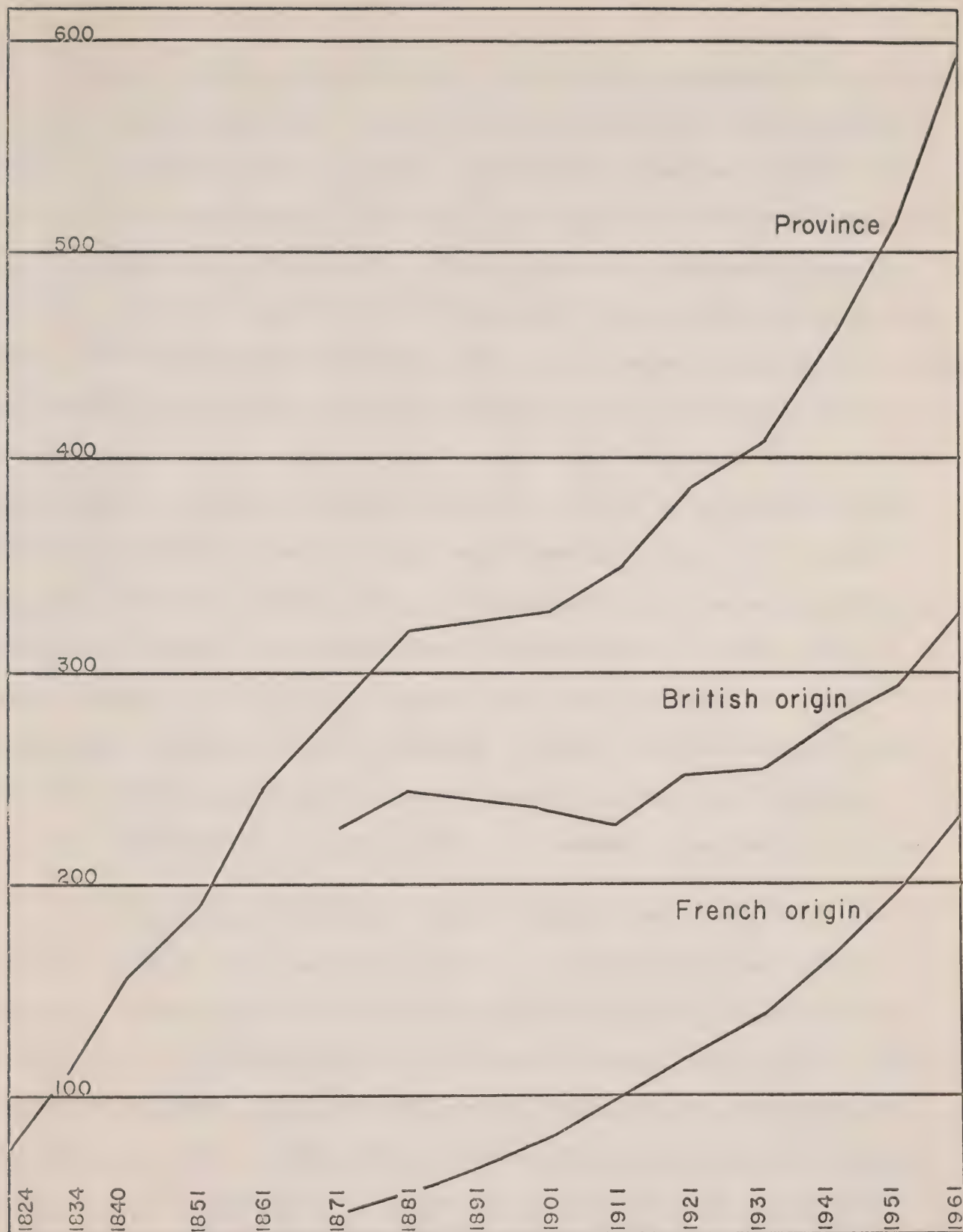


Figure 2. Population by Origin for New Brunswick 1824-1961, in Thousands.

Localism, shading into small-scale regionalism, is a dominating characteristic of the New Brunswick electorate. The population is scattered in small communities along the river valleys and the seashore, or huddled in a few small cities at the river mouths or other strategic locations. No metropolis dominates the province to focus its economic and cultural life. Instead, there is a complex of dispersive influences: the north shore rivals the south shore; the Saint John drainage basin competes with the Miramichi; the forest economy is challenged by agriculture, fishing, manufacturing and now mining; the French population claims its rights from the English; Catholics expand their influence at the expense of the Protestants. The result is great variety, but little homogeneity - watchful rivalry, but no unity of purpose. Under such circumstances every interest, every community, takes care to defend its rights and prerogatives lest its rivals steal a march on it. The responsibility of governments to respond to a complex array of representatives of local, regional, and special interests, each alert to claim the deserts of its principals, results in a rather negative introversion that emphasizes the smaller and more local interests. Successful politicians must have long-standing local connections. Education, experience, and knowledge of larger affairs is of secondary consideration at best.

This restriction of outlook is only one side of the coin; with it there is a diversity that is a welcome relief in an age of standardization and bigness. The many small interests that make up the province leave room for the individual and the small group to play their parts in local and provincial affairs without being overshadowed by giants. Since interests are delicately balanced one against the other, none can afford to ignore the humblest citizen or treat him with contempt. The province is one where living standards are not high and where change takes place only slowly, but where every citizen belongs in his own community through long

association and general acceptance. He has his place, which is his pride or his cross, and others recognize it. He, his family and its social position dogs him through his lifetime. He will be recognized by his family name and by where he comes from; and those who meet him will see him as one of that family and that community.

2. The French-Speaking Counties

Only three counties can be classified as French-speaking: Kent, Gloucester and Madawaska, which are 82, 85 and 94 per cent French by ethnic origin respectively. (1961 Census, Vol. I, Part 2, Bulletin 1.2-9, Table 66). Kent and Gloucester are populated chiefly by Acadians, the descendants of the early French settlers in the area who were expelled in 1755 and later found their way to New Brunswick. Madawaska is predominantly French-Canadian, although there is a strong admixture of Acadians and Americanized French-speaking people.

Kent and Gloucester Counties

These two counties face the Gulf of St. Lawrence and their coastline constitutes the larger part of the north shore of New Brunswick. With an economy based on fishing, lumbering and farming, both counties have over half of their male labour force engaged in primary occupations.

The rate of literacy of these counties trails behind the wealthier and more urbanized ones. Along with Madawaska, they have the largest percentage of illiterates and semi-literates in the province. Of the population over five years of age and not attending school, Gloucester has 15 per cent who have never attended and 22 per cent who have not gone beyond Grade IV, or 38 per cent in these two groups combined. This is the largest percentage of poorly educated for any county in the province. After

Madawaska, Kent county comes next with 13 per cent who have never attended school and 21 per cent who have not gone beyond Grade IV, a total of 34 per cent. The percentages of those with a secondary education (Grades IX to XII) (17 in Gloucester and 14 in Kent) are well below the provincial average of 33 per cent. The group with schooling beyond Grade XII amounts to 2 per cent in Kent and 4 per cent in Gloucester - the smallest percentages of better educated citizens in the province. (1961 Census, Bulletin 1.2-10).

Both counties are Liberal strongholds to a degree that cannot be duplicated by any English-speaking county. In the fifteen provincial elections held in Kent county since 1903, the Liberals have won thirteen contests. The two Conservative victories were in 1908 and 1912, before the conscription issue of 1917 made the French-speaking counties decisively Liberal. In every provincial election since 1917, the Liberals have polled over half the popular vote. In nine out of the eleven most recent contests, they have secured over 55 per cent of the popular vote and they exceeded 60 per cent six times. The Kent county record in federal politics is similar: out of 18 federal elections held since 1900, the Liberals have won 15, with the Conservative victories in 1911, 1925, and 1930. From 1930 until 1949, the Liberals secured over 64 per cent of the total vote in every election. However, from 1957 to date, these impressive percentages have declined sharply. In 1957, they received 57.6 per cent; in 1958, 55.1 per cent; in 1962, 51.2 per cent; and in 1963, 59.4 per cent. The low Liberal percentages in 1949 and 1962 are partly traceable to the candidature of an independent Liberal.

Gloucester's record of fidelity to the Liberal cause is no less impressive than that of Kent. In the fifteen provincial elections held since 1903 in Gloucester county, the Liberals won 13 to the Conservatives two. The Conservative victories

were in 1903 and 1912, and since then the Liberals have won every election with substantial margins. Since 1917, they have never failed to capture an absolute majority of the total vote cast in every provincial election. In the twelve most recent elections, their share of votes cast has exceeded 70 per cent twice, 65 per cent five times, and 55 per cent eleven out of twelve times. The twelfth was a Liberal acclamation! The Liberals have won the county at every federal general election held since 1900. Of these eighteen victories, one was an acclamation, two were by over 70 per cent of the total vote, four by over 65 per cent, and six by over 60 per cent. The last five victories were all secured by less than 60 per cent of the vote, relatively small majorities by Gloucester county standards.

Clearly, the two Acadian counties of Kent and Gloucester are the real Liberal strongholds of the province. In the Conservative sweeps of 1952 and 1956 (provincial) these counties remained steadfastly Liberal when even Madawaska and Restigouche went Conservative. Their Liberal loyalties are so strong that the Conservatives and all other parties have been demoralized and unable to keep an organization together. To persuade candidates to run on the Conservative ticket has proven particularly difficult, especially in provincial elections; as a consequence, persons with no previous political connections sometimes appear on the ticket. Electoral participation of both Kent and Gloucester counties is well above the average for the province. Gloucester's participation has never fallen below the provincial average since 1911, except for 1963 when it was three-tenths of one per cent below. Kent has been above the provincial average in every election from 1904 to 1963 except for the one election of 1940. In the seven elections from 1945 to 1963, over 79 per cent of the electorates of both counties turned out to vote.

In these two French-speaking counties, at least one candidate

on the provincial Liberal ticket is English-speaking. Kent has three seats in the legislature and on the Liberal ticket there has been one English-speaking and two French-speaking Catholic candidates since 1917. Gloucester's representation has changed from three members until 1912, four until 1948, and five since then. In 1903 and 1908, it returned two English members and only one French member and in 1912, two of each. From 1917 to 1939, three of its four members were French. In 1944 this fell back to two. From 1948 until 1960, the county returned three French Catholics. However, in that year the English Catholic was dropped in favour of a French Catholic, leaving a slate of one English Protestant and four French Catholics. The French-speaking majority in Gloucester shows a singular willingness to elect English-speaking members. In the 1901 census, Gloucester was over 80 per cent French-speaking and this majority has increased to 85 per cent by 1961. Since an English Protestant is still elected in this county, one can see that Acadian nationalism is not the dominant factor in Gloucester politics, although it is significant that the English Catholic was dropped in favour of the French one.

The willingness of the French-speaking people in Gloucester to support English candidates is further indicated by the fact that in every provincial election but one since 1930, with the exception of 1956 and 1960, the English-speaking candidate has led the poll. This cannot be because of the popularity of any one man; there have been four such English-speaking persons and they have led the poll one after the other. The reason, local observers agree, is that the French-speaking people vote the ticket; that is to say, they vote for all the candidates of a particular party. The English, on the other hand, sometimes vote only for English-speaking candidates, thereby producing the results that the English candidates lead the poll, especially in the small English-speaking communities along the shore of the Baie de Chaleur from Bathurst to Grande Anse. The English-speaking population tends to show a spirit of loyalty

to its own group which probably indicates a fear of French Catholic dominance; whereas the French show a confidence in their own position which allows them to demonstrate a loyalty to a political party over their ethnic group. This long standing tendency of the English-speaking population is becoming less pronounced than in the past. On reviewing the provincial election results by poll for the elections of 1960 and 1963, we find that in the predominantly English communities of Salmon Beach, Pokeshaw, Canobie, and Stonehaven, the votes for the English Protestant candidate, Harry H. Williamson, exceeded those for the four other French candidates in both elections, with the single exception of Pokeshaw in 1960. In the town of Bathurst in which the English language predominates although the population of French origin exceeds that of British, Mr. Williamson in his first election in 1960 did not top the poll. In 1963 he led in ten polls out of twelve. The number of votes by which Mr. Williamson led his French-speaking fellow candidates was small⁴ in all cases except Stonehaven.

The situation in Kent county is different. The English-speaking candidate has not led the Liberal slate since 1939, when the provincial premier, A. A. Dysart, was the English candidate for Kent county. Out of fourteen elections held since 1903, the English-speaking candidate led in six contests, came second in two, and came last six times. There does not appear to be any significant difference in voting habits between the English and French people in Kent county. The population ratio between persons of French and British origin in Kent is 82 per cent French and 15 per cent British and differs only slightly from the Gloucester county ratio of 85 per cent French and 14 per cent British. The English-speaking member for Kent has always been

4. The Northern Light, Bathurst, N.B., June 2, 1960, and April 25, 1963.

a Roman Catholic, at least as far back as 1912; hence, there is a greater tendency for voters in Kent to support French-speaking candidates than is the case in Gloucester. This is not easy to account for, but the proximity of Kent to Moncton, the centre of Catholic and Acadian activity, and the large penetration of L'Evangeline may be significant.

Local observers, both French and English, agree that the French Acadians of these counties are hesitant about asserting themselves. A simple and honest rural people who lack the leaders who normally come from such urban professions as law, medicine, and business, they want above all else to be left alone to live their lives as they wish. They are conscious of the superior power of their English-speaking neighbours and they wish to take no action that might provoke them to retaliation. They are happy to see their representation rising in the legislature, the civil service, and elsewhere, but they are patient and cautious. Time, they feel, is on their side, as their population is growing - so why provoke conflict when they are coming into their own anyway, albeit somewhat slowly? In any case, the Acadian farmer-woodsman is more interested in his farm, his family, and the conditions of the local road than in any question of the rights of his race. He may subscribe to L'Evangeline and generally approve of the attempt it makes to advance the Acadian cause, but he is little interested in doing anything about it. Acadian history is that of a helpless people, buffeted about by superior forces and somehow surviving by a non-violent acquiescence that meant a life of isolation, simplicity, and rugged labour. There is no spirit of aggression here, rather an element of humility.

Madawaska County

The other French-speaking county is the so-called "Republic of Madawaska" located in the northwest corner of the province bordering on the Province of Quebec

to the north and the State of Maine to the west and south. Although the population is chiefly French-Canadian, there is a significant French-Acadian admixture and an English-speaking minority. It has the longest frontier of any county with the United States and a marked American influence contributes to the rugged individualism of the Madawaskans.

The Madawaskan people are 94 per cent French by origin - the highest percentage in the province. This ethnic composition has remained constant since 1921, the first year Madawaska was listed separately in the census; however, the population has grown from 20,138 to 38,983 in 40 years. Madawaska is overwhelmingly Roman Catholic (97 per cent).

The educational attainments of the population are similar to those of the other two French-speaking counties. Of the population five years of age and over not attending school, 13 per cent have never attended and 17 per cent have not gone beyond Grade IV, a total of over 30 per cent in these two categories combined. With the exception of Gloucester and Kent, this is the largest percentage of illiterates and semi-literates in the province. On the other hand, Madawaska has 10 per cent of its population who have more than a Grade XII education. This is the highest percentage in the province with the single exception of York county. This may be because about one-third of the population of the county lives in a city: Edmundston.

Until 1952, Madawaska was a Liberal stronghold. However, its voting record has proven more erratic than that of the other two French-speaking counties. In the fifteen provincial elections held since 1903, the Liberals have won eleven times and the Conservatives four (1903, 1908, 1952 and 1956). Twice the Liberal victories have been won with sweeping majorities of over 70 per cent of the total vote (1917 and 1935),

and this percentage has fallen as low as 28.9 in 1903, 44.2 in 1952, and 41.4 in 1956. In 1960 and 1963 it recovered to 54.5 and 56.6 per cent respectively.

The record in the federal field is similarly erratic. Although Madawaska county has never been a constituency on its own, its behaviour can be ascertained by examining the returns for Victoria until 1911, and Restigouche-Madawaska since then. Out of the eighteen general elections held since 1900, the Liberals have won fourteen and the Conservatives four. However, the majorities have fluctuated widely. In 1921 the Liberals secured 81.5 per cent of the vote in Restigouche-Madawaska, and in the following election in 1925 lost by securing only 43.4 per cent. They got between 70 and 80 per cent in 1908, 1911 and 1935; between 60 and 70 per cent in 1926 and 1945; and below 50 per cent in 1925, 1930 and in all the elections from 1953 to date. In an election in Madawaska, the odds have been on the Liberals, but there is often a chance for the Conservatives as well.

Participation in elections also tends to fluctuate widely, ranging from a high of 87.6 per cent in 1958 to a low of 49.2 per cent in 1921. Generally it has been close to the provincial average in recent elections, and has been over 80 per cent since 1957.

As might be inferred from these wide fluctuations in both voting behaviour and participation in elections, the political picture in Madawaska centres on personalities. No party has such a strong organization that its position is secure. At the turn of the century, the personal following of the Hon. John Costigan was so strong that, after being elected as a Conservative, he could become a Liberal and still win election by a very substantial majority.

After Costigan had brought Victoria (which then included Madawaska) into the

Liberal column, the Michaud family kept it there. In 1908 and 1911 Pius Michaud represented the constituency. In the election of 1917 Madawaska was grouped with Restigouche in a new constituency and Pius Michaud held this new seat in the elections of 1917, 1921 and 1925. When the family ran no candidate in 1926 and 1930, the Liberals won the former election and lost the latter. The Michauds re-entered the lists in 1955 when Joseph Enoil Michaud carried the Liberal colours and won 77 per cent of the votes cast. He won again in 1940 with 69.8 per cent of the total vote. In 1945, another Michaud, Benoit (no relation to J.E. or Pius), represented the Liberals and won an absolute majority over Conservative, C.C.F., and Social Credit candidates. In 1949 he increased his majority to 65.4 per cent of the total vote. He died just after the election and since then the Michaud name has not reappeared on the ballot. A by-election in 1949 was an occasion for jockeying for the nomination among the Liberals of the constituency. At the nomination, eleven names were put forward, and the nomination was finally won by J. Albert Pichette, a lawyer. In the election no Conservative, C.C.F. or Social Credit candidate ran. Mr. Pichette was opposed only by an Independent, Paul-Léon Dubé, a railway engineer. He had stood unsuccessfully for the Conservatives in the provincial election of 1935 and for Social Credit in the federal election of 1945. So divided were the Liberals following the bitterness of the nomination convention that Dubé won the by-election by about 3,000 votes and went to Ottawa as an "Independent Liberal". His masquerade was short-lived; in the general election of 1953 he polled only 16 per cent of the popular vote. The constituency went back to the official Liberal candidate, J. Gaspard Boucher, but only by 49.4 per cent of the popular vote. His death reopened the rivalries for the Liberal nomination, and the seat was won by the colourful, independent-minded, bilingual Conservative candidate, J. C. Van Horne, who held the seat until he resigned it after openly clashing with Mr. Diefenbaker and the Conservative cabinet in 1961. At the by-

election of that year the Conservative candidate, Edgar Fournier, a former provincial cabinet minister, won the seat by a narrow, one thousand vote margin. The still popular Van Horne let it be known that he supported the Social Credit candidate P.-L. Dubé. In the ensuing general election of 1962, the Liberal candidate, J.E. Dubé won a narrow 500-vote victory over Conservative Fournier. The Conservative vote was reduced by the Caouette-oriented Social Credit candidate J. A. Boudreau. It was in 1963, after it had shown its mettle in Quebec, that Social Credit made large inroads. The Liberal candidate J.E. Dubé won the election with 45 per cent of the vote, but the Social Credit candidate was runner-up with 32 per cent.

In provincial politics, personalities are also exceptionally important. The county was Conservative for a prolonged period until 1912 when the Liberals won with L. A. Dugal and J. H. Pelletier. In 1917 J. E. Michaud replaced Pelletier and the Liberal vote rose to 72.7 per cent of the total vote, more probably as a result of the federal Conservative policy of conscription than any provincial issues. In 1920 the Liberals, Michaud and Daigle, won by acclamation. After that the Liberals won every election by substantial majorities until 1952. After J. E. Michaud was graduated to federal politics, J.-Gaspard Boucher, the publisher of Le Madawaska, the Edmundston weekly newspaper, and a relative of J. E. Michaud, was the hero who won for the Liberals.

In 1952 Boucher was ousted by another "lone ranger", Edgar Fournier, who had been conducting a vigorous personal campaign throughout the county, attacking the "clique" that controlled the Liberal party in the county. He was a technical school teacher who simply decided to campaign against the entrenched leaders, with a view to running either as an Independent or as a Social Crediter. After being approached by the Conservative leaders, he was persuaded to throw in his lot with them. One of his running mates on the Conservative ticket, Lucien Fortin, had been associated with

J.-Gaspard Boucher as a writer on Le Madawaska, but, having broken with him, was willing to stand for election on the Conservative ticket. The third Conservative was William Bird, a bilingual English Catholic who had been a life-long Conservative. Of the three Conservative candidates, only one had supported the party before the election campaign. In fact, even on the Liberal side, one of their candidates, Harry E. Marmen, had run as an Independent in 1948 and as a C.C.F.'er in 1944.

The provincial election of 1960 heralded a return to old-style politics in Madawaska, with the Liberals riding high again. With a French-speaking leader in Louis Robichaud and the popular issue of government-paid hospitalization, the Liberals won 55 per cent of the vote, and drove the colourful Edgar Fournier from provincial politics. He then entered federal politics in the by-election of 1961 and won, only to be beaten by Liberal Dubé the next year. With the disappearance of Fournier and Van Horne, the two free-wheeling enfants terribles, Madawaska is experiencing the "calm after the storm". Politics is no longer on everybody's lips. Now it is scarcely mentioned, and people are a bit cynical about politics after so much sound and fury.

The three present M.L.A.'s are less colourful than some of their predecessors. J.-Andrien Levesque was a civil servant (an agricultural representative) who entered politics and is now Minister of Agriculture. He knows the department and is able to make discreet changes to meet the demands of the French-speaking people without causing offence. He is a change from his flamboyant predecessor, and his running mates on the Liberal ticket too are not conspicuous politicians.

In striking contrast to Kent and Gloucester, where the party attracts support and the candidates may be inconspicuous, but faithful adherents, Madawaskan politics concentrates on personalities. For a long time the leaders of the county used the Liberal party as their vehicle. The people tired of this and moved over to the new-

found Conservative leaders. When these mercurial men ran their course, the chastened, "safe" Liberal party won a grudging nod. However, the party never overshadows the men; for it is the men who get the votes, not the party. This situation in Madawaska is further proof of that spirit of individualism, independence and blunt frankness that characterizes "the Republic". In such an environment a party system cannot operate effectively for any length of time; for parties demand a measure of blind loyalty that the rugged Madawaskan cannot bring himself to give.

Unlike other counties, Madawaska places no emphasis on local, religious and ethnic representation. Since 1900, it has returned only French Catholics to the legislature except for the Conservatives Thomas Clair in 1903 and 1908, and William Bird in 1952 and 1956. In each case the English candidate polled the fewest votes on the ticket. Similarly there is no concern about regional representation. Of the twenty-eight persons elected in the last twelve elections (including persons re-elected), fifteen have come from Edmundston, eight from St. Leonard, one from St. François, and one from St. Jacques. The present minister was agricultural representative for the whole region. This makes fifteen from the central urban part.

Madawaska is made up of both French-Canadians and Acadians; but leadership is in the hands of the former. In the list of members elected to Parliament and Legislature, one looks in vain for an Acadian name other than that of Maxime D. Cormier, Conservative M.P. elected in 1930. The French-Canadians are the more numerous, and are generally better educated. Many operate local business establishments, whereas Acadians are more often rural, or if they are to be found in the towns, they are usually working in the pulp mill of the Fraser Companies. The French-Canadian atmosphere is further underlined by the newspapers people read: the local weekly Le Madawaska, and Le Soleil and L'Action from Quebec. L'Evangeline arrives a day

late and is not widely read. Communications with the outside are poor in Madawaska, and especially with the Acadian counties. This, of course, supports the spirit of independence of the Madawaskans. They have developed a tradition of doing as they please, and they are sufficiently remote that nobody says them nay.

3. The Mixed Counties

The four counties of Restigouche, Westmorland, Victoria and Northumberland¹ are 68, 44, 42 and 31 per cent French by origin. They account for 34 per cent of the total population of the province. As the analysis will show, even in the mixed counties most persons live in communities which are chiefly of one or other ethnic group. A pattern of ethnic and religious representation has developed for provincial politics. In Restigouche, two French-speaking Catholics and one English-speaking Protestant appear on each party's slate. In Westmorland it is two and two, and in Victoria both candidates have been English-speaking; although since 1948 the county has elected one Protestant and one Catholic. These three counties favoured the Liberals until 1952, when Victoria and Restigouche elected Conservatives. In 1960, Victoria elected one Conservative and one Liberal and Restigouche returned to the Liberal fold where it has since remained. In 1963 Victoria went Conservative.

Restigouche County

Restigouche county is the northermost county of the province, bordering Quebec and the Baie de Chaleur. In area it is exceeded only by Northumberland and York counties; yet it supports a population of only 40,973. The forests of the county are its chief resource, and the pulp and paper industry is its main source of livelihood.

1. Census of Canada 1961, Bulletin 1.2-5, Table 37.

Those French by origin are in the majority with 68 per cent of the population as compared to the British 29 per cent. However, by official language we find only 61 per cent of the population French, as many persons of French origin adopt English as their working language. Indeed, this happens in every county of the province except the three French-speaking counties of Kent, Gloucester and Madawaska. However, Restigouche is unique in that it is the only county in the province with a French-speaking majority in which more are French by ethnic origin than by mother tongue.

Of the persons of British origin, the Scots are the most numerous. Their influence is clearly the most pronounced because they were the first settlers in the county, giving their names to its towns and setting up the community to which others migrated. In 1871 the county was 77.3 per cent English-speaking and 20.5 per cent French-speaking. Thereafter, for fifty years, the change was continuous. By 1921 the balance of 60 per cent French to 40 per cent English was established and change has been only gradual since then.

The French-speaking people of Restigouche county are partly of Acadian and partly of French-Canadian origin. The Acadians are the original French settlers established there before Confederation; on the other hand, the French-Canadians, for the most part, came in from Quebec after the building of the Intercolonial Railway. As listed in the 1961 Census, 9 per cent of the population of Restigouche county was born in the province of Quebec, the highest percentage of any county in the province. Madawaska, by contrast, has 7 per cent Quebec-born, and all other counties are below 3 per cent.

The educational situation in Restigouche is poor, as one would expect of a sparsely settled area devoted to forestry. Of the population over five and not attending

school, 69 per cent have grade VIII or less education. This situation compares unfavourably with all but the three French-speaking counties. In the case of those with grade XIII education or higher, Restigouche has four per cent - the lowest in the province with the exception of the two Acadian counties (Kent and Gloucester).²

In the provincial political sphere, Restigouche is as evenly divided between the two old parties as any county in the province. In the fourteen provincial elections held since 1908, the Conservatives have won six and the Liberals seven, and in one the returning officer did not report a result! Moreover, the majority secured by the victorious party in each case did not exceed 55.5 per cent of the vote except in 1912, when the Conservatives got 61 per cent, and in 1948 and 1960 when the Liberals got 57 per cent and 59 per cent respectively. In federal politics, the Liberals are well ahead. In the five elections between 1896 and 1911 when the county formed a constituency on its own, the Liberals won four elections to the Conservatives' one. In the fourteen elections held since then, when Restigouche has been grouped with Madawaska, the Liberals have won ten times to the Conservatives' four. As noted above, the pluralities have varied from 45 per cent in 1962 and 1963 to a majority of 81.6 per cent in 1921.

As far as representation is concerned, Restigouche has no system of ethnic or geographic distribution. Of the thirty-one men elected in the fourteen provincial elections held since 1903, seventeen have come from Campbellton, three from Dalhousie, two from Balmoral, four from Jacquet River, one from Kedgwick and one from Maple Grove. All of these communities but Kedgwick are in the eastern end of the county along the

2. 1961 Census, Bulletin 1.2-10.

Baie de Chaleur. During this whole period only four members have come from the western part of the county (St. Quentin and Kedgwick). This is because most of the population lives along the eastern shore and until 1910 the area west of Campbellton was practically uninhabited. It was customary until 1948, when Restigouche's representation was raised from two to three members, to present a slate of one French-speaking and one English-speaking candidate. Since then, two French-speaking members and one English-speaking one have represented the county. Restigouche sent English-speaking members to Ottawa until 1917, when the constituency was enlarged to include Madawaska county. Since then, the member has been French-speaking, except for the single case of J.C. Van Horne, a bilingual Catholic. As in Madawaska, the French-speaking members elected in Restigouche are French-Canadian rather than Acadian in origin. The only Acadians on the provincial ballot have been Philibert LeBlanc in 1935 and 1939, and Arthur LeBlanc in 1917. In the federal field, the only Acadian candidates were Maxime D. Cormier in 1930 (and he was not a native of the county), and Dillan Arsenault, the defeated Conservative candidate in 1953.

Victoria County

Victoria is where the English-speaking people of the St. John River meet the French-speaking Madawaskans. Those French by origin comprise 42 per cent of the population, and those of British origin 50 per cent. For the most part, the English-speaking people live in the southern part of the county and the French-speaking in the north. However, there are many exceptions: New Denmark and Plaster Rock are predominantly English-speaking; Drummond, no more than five miles from New Denmark, is overwhelmingly French-speaking; and Grand Falls, which used to be an English-speaking town, is now largely French-speaking.

The English-speaking population in the period 1921 to 1961 has not changed significantly in numbers. In 1921, there were 8,613 persons of British origin; by 1961 their numbers had only increased to 9,776. The French-speaking population, however, has more than doubled in the same period, from 3,125 to 8,333. Also, in each ten-year period since 1921, the French-speaking population has grown from 1,000 to 1,600 persons. Victoria is rapidly shifting to the position where it will be a predominantly French-speaking county. Naturally, then, this puts the English-speaking population on the defensive and affects their political attitude.

With regard to the literacy rate, Victoria county stands in between the French-speaking and the English-speaking counties. Of the total population, 10 per cent has never attended school and another 12 per cent has a grade IV education or less. This record is well behind the English-speaking counties. The record for those with between a grade IX and a grade XII education is 29 per cent - thus, Victoria leads the French-speaking counties and Restigouche county, but trails the rest of the province. Similarly, its percentage of persons with more than a grade XII education (6 per cent) leads the French-speaking counties, Restigouche county, Northumberland county and Charlotte county, but trails the rest of the province.

Victoria is chiefly an agricultural area. Along with Carleton county, it is the great potato producing county of the province. No other industry in the county approaches potato growing in importance.

The political situation in Victoria has normally favoured the Liberals in the past, but not by the safe majorities of the predominantly French-speaking counties. In the fifteen provincial elections held since 1900, the Liberals have won nine, the Conservatives four, the United Farmers one, and on one occasion the representation was split between the Liberals and the Conservatives (1960). The Liberal defeats occurred

in 1912, 1920, 1952, 1956, 1963. The Liberal percentage of the total vote cast has varied from a low of 37.4 in 1952 to a high of 83.5 in 1935, and their percentage was above 60 three times, between 50 and 60 five times, and below 50 seven times.

In the federal field the story is different, as Victoria has been grouped in the same constituency with that Conservative stronghold, Carleton County, since 1917. However, before 1917, when Victoria included Madawaska, the Liberals won all three elections of 1904, 1908 and 1911. Since 1917, the Conservatives won ten out of thirteen elections and have held the seat continuously since 1940. They have exceeded 55 per cent of the popular vote on six occasions: 1925, 1930, 1957, 1958, 1962 and 1963.

The main division in Victoria county is between north and south: Grand Falls, and the twin towns of Perth and Andover. The parties always choose one candidate from the north and one from the south for the provincial house. In the fifteen elections held since 1903, the two representatives have been chosen on this basis every time except in 1917 when the seat in Victoria was sought by the Liberal leader, W.E. Foster. The town of Grand Falls has supplied a member fourteen times out of fifteen, Andover six times, Plaster Rock twice, Aroostook Junction four times.

With one exception, the members from Victoria from 1903 until 1948 were always Protestant. In the four elections held since then, one Catholic and one Protestant have been elected each time. Both the Liberals and the Conservatives have presented a slate of one Protestant and one Catholic from 1948 on, and presumably this will continue to be the case in the future.

Westmorland County

Westmorland is in many ways the most important county in the province. It has the largest population (93,679) and includes the rapidly growing city of Moncton.

It numbered only 11,345 in 1911, 27,334 in 1951, and 43,840 in 1961. In trade, it is a close rival of Saint John, following behind it in wholesale trade but exceeding it in many retail aspects. It is the home of the Canadian National Railways' shops for the Maritimes and of Eaton's department store, and the headquarters of la Société l'Assomption, and the newspapers, Moncton Times-Transcript and L'Evangeline; many businesses established there because of its location as the "hub" of the Maritime provinces.

The economy of Westmorland is the most diversified in the province. There is considerable manufacturing as well as primary activities. In addition to Moncton as a business centre, the county includes the world's greatest lobster port, Shédiac, the town of Sackville where important industries and a university are located.

The population of the county is 50 per cent of British origin and 44 per cent of French origin - thus, it most closely approximates the ethnic makeup of the province as a whole. Also, as in the province at large, the percentage of French-speaking persons is increasing gradually. In 1871 they accounted for only 32 per cent of the county's population; by 1901 the proportion had increased to 36 per cent and by 1931 to 40 per cent.

The French Acadians live along the north shore of the county from Shédiac to Cape Tormentine, in the parishes of Shédiac and Botsford, and also along the Petitcodiac River in the parish of Dorchester. The English-speaking Protestants, on the other hand, live in the western end of the county bordering on Kings, Queens and Albert counties in the parish of Salisbury, and in the south-east along the Nova Scotia boundary in the parishes of Sackville and Westmorland. The two groups meet in a central parish in Moncton (including the city and neighbouring countryside).

Westmorland, next to Saint John, is the most urbanized county in the province - 61 per cent. The educational opportunities are better than in the more isolated areas and therefore the level of educational attainment is higher in some aspects. Only 6.8 per cent of the population not attending school has never attended and only 7.4 per cent has reached only to grade IV. In other words, only 14 per cent of the population could be classified as illiterate or semi-literate, which is a lower percentage than in any of the mixed or French-speaking counties. At the other end of the scale, 7 per cent of the population has more than a grade XII education, which is a higher percentage again than in any French-speaking or mixed county, except Madawaska.

Politically, Westmorland has been a Liberal stronghold. In federal politics, the county has chosen a Liberal in thirteen out of the seventeen elections held since 1900. In provincial politics, the story is somewhat similar: twelve Liberal victories in the fifteen elections held since 1900. However, the majorities have usually been quite small. In provincial politics, the Liberal vote only exceeded 60 per cent of the popular vote in two of the fifteen elections and has been below 55 per cent in ten of the fifteen contests. Similarly, in federal politics the Liberal vote exceeded 60 per cent three times and was below 55 per cent in ten of the fifteen contests. In four cases, the Liberals secured between 55 and 60 per cent of the popular vote. The county has given its member for the House of Commons greater majorities than its M.L.A.'s. In the seventeen elections since 1904, the Member of Parliament for the county has been elected by over 55 per cent of the popular vote on nine occasions. Since 1903, the M.L.A.'s for the county have only secured over 55 per cent of the total vote in five out of fifteen elections. This trend is now reversed, as the M.P. in the 1962-63 ^{and 1965} elections received less than 50 per cent of the vote on both occasions, whereas the M.L.A.'s in the recent elections of 1960 and 1963 received 56 per cent of the popular vote.

The picture of geographic, ethnic and religious representation in the county is rather confused. In the fifteen provincial elections held since 1903, sixty M.L.A.'s have been chosen: 34 English-speaking Protestants, 7 English-speaking Catholics, and 18 French-speaking Catholics; one man did not declare his religion. On every occasion, at least two out of the four M.L.A.'s have been English-speaking Protestants, and on three occasions, three out of the four were representatives of this group. The French-speaking Catholics have had at least one representative in every Legislature but one, and since 1952 they have had two. The English-speaking Catholics have been the least continuously represented. They failed to secure representation in 1925, 1930, and continuously from 1952 to date. Now, local observers agree, the demand of the French-speaking Catholics for two representatives is too insistent to be denied.

Regional representation within the county varies somewhat. There are seven parishes in the county and all cannot be directly represented by four members. Westmorland parish can be eliminated from serious consideration as it has only a population of some 1200 and can be considered represented if Port Elgin (in Botsford parish but bordering Westmorland) gets one of its residents elected. This leaves six sizeable parishes. Of the 60 M.L.A.'s elected in this century, Moncton parish sent eleven, Botsford nine, Sackville and Dorchester eleven each, Shédiac ten, and Salisbury eight.

In provincial politics, the City of Moncton was carved out of Westmorland as a separate constituency in 1917, electing one member. In 1948 its representation was increased to two members, one of whom has always been French-speaking. The eleven members shown as elected from Moncton parish distort the picture of county representation. In fact, six of these eleven were elected before 1917.

The city has alternated between the two old parties, giving the Liberals the edge. Out of twelve elections, the Liberals have won eight and the Conservatives four.

The percentages going to each party have fluctuated widely. The Liberals were below 40 per cent on two occasions, between 40 and 50 per cent four times, and between 50 and 60 per cent six times. Moncton gave some real encouragement to the C.C.F. party in 1944 when they ran their first candidate in the city and polled 25.2 per cent of the vote. In the 1948 election, however, C.C.F. support fell to 10.8 per cent. In 1952 it fell again to 3.1 per cent, and from 1956 to date the party and its successor, the N.D.P., has not entered the contest.

As has been noted above in the analysis of Kent and Gloucester counties, the Acadians tend to vote the ticket, and the English-speaking people, especially the Protestants, sometimes vote to favour English-speaking candidates. This is true also of Westmorland county. In every provincial election held since 1903, the winning slate has been led by an English-speaking Protestant, and the man with the fewest votes on the winning ticket has been the French-speaking Catholic in every case but one where one of this group was on the ticket. The English-speaking Catholic, when he was to be found on the ticket, has always run behind the Protestant or Protestants, but ahead of the French-speaking Catholic. In Moncton city, in the five elections of 1948, 1952, 1956, 1960 and 1963, the French-speaking candidate trailed the English-speaking on the winning ticket.

It is only fair to add, however, that the difference between the vote received by the English-speaking and the French-speaking candidates is usually only a few votes. It is also significant that this differential is declining in recent elections. Apparently, what apprehension there was on the part of the English-speaking population for the French is declining virtually to the vanishing point. In the 1963 election, only 112 votes separated the leading English-speaking candidate from the lower French-speaking candidate in Westmorland county and in Moncton city the differential was only

482 votes out of a total of about 9,000. Table VII shows the results by parish in the federal election of 1963. The strong Acadian preference for the Liberals is clearly demonstrated in the results for Shédiac and Dorchester parishes, where the Liberal vote is roughly double the Conservative.

Northumberland County

Northumberland county is the largest county of the province and is situated in the Mirimachi River drainage basin. It is the one county which has an English-speaking majority and lies north and east of the diagonal line of division drawn above between the predominantly English and the predominantly French-speaking areas. The 1961 census showed Northumberland to be 64 per cent British by ethnic origin and 31 per cent French. As indicated in every census since 1871, the proportion of British has declined and the proportion of French increased. In 1871, the county was 89.2 per cent British and 6.8 per cent French. By 1901, this had shifted to 78.1 per cent British and 19.2 per cent French. In the period 1901-51, the French-speaking population increased by 135.7 per cent and the English-speaking population by only 26.6 per cent.

Northumberland, like Saint John, has a substantial Irish Catholic population, which is extremely important politically. The 1941 census showed 27.1 per cent of the total population to be English-speaking Catholics; two-thirds of these were of Irish origin. In federal politics, the Irish are clearly in a strategic position. In fact, the candidate has to be an Irish Catholic to be elected in Northumberland county. Local observers suggest that the Irish can get the French vote because of their Catholicism and the English vote because they are English-speaking. Whatever the reason, there is no denying the result. In all ten federal elections since 1930, the elected member has been an Irish Catholic, and in eight out of ten he has been a Liberal. The Irish tend to look upon Northumberland as their seat. One former

TABLE VII

VOTES CAST FOR THE P.C. AND LIBERAL PARTIES IN THE 1963 FEDERAL
ELECTION IN WESTMORLAND COUNTY, BY PARISHES

	<u>P.C.</u>	<u>L.</u>
Salisbury Parish	905	831
Moncton "	2217	2944
Shediac "	1324	2361
Botsford "	1351	1339
Sackville "	1242	1235
Dorchester "	817	1705
Moncton City	7879	8688
Advanced Poll	436	305
Armed Forces	<u>185</u>	<u>681</u>
	16471	20021

Protestant candidate tells of being visited by a delegation of Conservative and Liberal Irish Catholics. It was suggested that if he ran he would not get Irish support, that Northumberland was the one seat in New Brunswick where the Irish Catholics could elect a member, and they felt they were entitled to it.

In provincial politics, the situation is different. The population of the county is 27 per cent English-speaking Catholic, 27 per cent French-speaking Catholic, and 46 English-speaking Protestant.³ The parties present a representative ticket by nominating two Catholics (one French and one English) and two English Protestants for the county's four seats. This pattern has been followed since 1908 (1920 excepted). In 1956, however, a split occurred in the election, and one of the Liberal Protestants was nosed out by a Conservative English-speaking Catholic.

Local representation is another factor to be considered in choosing candidates for the Legislature: if possible, one man should be from each of the twin and rival towns of Newcastle and Chatham; the "up-river" people wish to secure a representative; the French representative must either be selected from the French-speaking area south of the Marimichi near Rogersville, or else from the other area to the north of the river around Neguac. In the nine provincial elections held from 1925, the two towns of Chatham and Newcastle were represented every time, except in 1925, when no representative came from Newcastle, but one did come from Nelson, directly across the river. The "up-river" people have only had one representative in the nine elections. The French-speaking group around Rogersville has been represented every time except 1948 when the French-speaking representative came from Lower Neguac, to the north of the river.

3. The 1951 Census figures are used here because these data are not available in the 1961 Census.

Northumberland can be considered a Liberal stronghold in politics. In the seventeen federal elections held since 1904, the Liberals have won all but three, and one of these was lost because their vote was split between two Liberal candidates allowing the Conservatives to slip in. In provincial politics, the Liberal record is no less impressive. In the fifteen elections held between 1903 and 1963, the Liberals won ten and the Conservatives three. Since 1925, the Liberals have gained over half the votes cast every time and have won every provincial election (except 1956 when three Liberals and one Conservative were returned). In the last nine contests, they secured over 60 per cent of the votes five times, and on one occasion actually got over 70 per cent.

One sometimes hears the allegation that Northumberland is safely Liberal because of its solid French-speaking vote. Certainly the Liberal majorities have tended to rise as the French-speaking population has increased, especially in the provincial elections, however, there is a preference for the Liberals among the English-speaking population as well. In the 1953 federal election, there were 102 polling stations, at which 90 gave the Liberals more votes, indicating that in this contest the English-speaking people prefer the Liberals. In the 1949 election, the Conservatives did rather better, but still led in only 25 polling stations out of 92. Even in 1958 the Conservatives won only 46 out of 108 polling stations.

Electoral participation in Northumberland county has been most irregular. In the fifteen federal elections held since 1911, the percentage of votes cast has varied from 50.3 in 1925 to 86.3 in 1917.

Northumberland has a large number of poorly educated people. There are 10 per cent of the population not attending school who have never attended, and another

12 per cent who have not gone beyond grade IV, and 63 per cent who have not gone beyond grade VIII. This proportion of poorly educated people is only exceeded by the three French-speaking counties and by Restigouche and Victoria. This is, no doubt, partly attributable to the fact that Northumberland is primarily a logging and generally primary producing area, and it is well known that these operations are carried out in places remote from settled communities.

Northumberland is the county in New Brunswick in which the Irish Catholics have the greatest influence, and it is this factor which, along with the French group, make it a Liberal stronghold. Since the county is flanked to north and south by French-speaking counties and the French population has been increasing continuously, it would appear that Northumberland in the future will probably have a French-speaking majority.

III. Analysis of Voting

The political pendulum has swung back and forth between the two old parties in New Brunswick at regular intervals. In provincial politics, the usual sequence has been for one party to follow the other in office after two terms. The only exception to this since 1900 is the four-term Liberal stretch beginning in 1935. In federal politics, the two parties have changed places less regularly, but the sequence has been maintained. The Liberals had the edge from 1900 to 1911, the Conservatives from 1911 to 1921, the Liberals from 1921 to 1930, the Conservatives from 1930 to 1935, the Liberals from 1935 to 1957, the Conservatives from 1957 to 1962. The 1963 election went Liberal. Clearly the Liberals have had the better of the federal contest, leading in twelve out of eighteen elections, but on three occasions only did the Conservatives poll less than 40 per cent of the vote. The balance has remained fairly even since the turn of the century. (See Tables VIII and IX.)

However, the voting pattern of the French-speaking areas has tended to vary from that of the English-speaking ones. In the federal elections until the turn of the century, the three French-speaking constituencies returned Conservatives almost four times out of five, and the English-speaking constituencies elected three Liberals¹ to every two Conservatives. Then suddenly the roles were reversed. Since 1900, the Acadian constituencies have shown an ever greater preference for the Liberals than they had earlier for the Conservatives. They elected five Liberals to one Conservative and then, after 1917, six to one. The English-speaking constituencies also shifted. From 1900 to 1911, they elected eight Conservatives for every seven Liberals, and since 1917 they have returned over seven Conservatives for every two Liberals. The constituencies with a mixed electorate have always returned English-speaking candidates,

1. The Federal Government went Liberal in 1896 under the leadership of Laurier.

TABLE VIII

Number of Seats and Percentage of Vote for the Two Major Parties
for New Brunswick in Dominion Elections, 1900-63

Election	Liberal seats	Conservative seats	Liberal percentage of votes cast	Conservative percentage of votes cast
1900	8	6	52	48
1904	7	6	51	49
1908	11	2	54	46
1911	8	5	51	49
1917	6	5	Liberal acclamations; so no valid percentage.	
1921*	5	5	49	41
1925	1	10	40	60
1926	4	7	46	54
1930	1	10	41	59
1935	10	1	57	32
1940	5	5	55	43
1945	7	3	50	38
1949	8	2	55	39
1953	7	3	52	42
1957	5	5	48	49
1958	3	7	43	55
1962	5	5	43	47
1963	6	4	47	41

* One Progressive was returned in Victoria-Carleton.

TABLE IX

Percentage of Votes Cast in Provincial Elections for the Two Major
Parties in New Brunswick, 1903-63

Election	Government	Liberal percentage of votes cast	Conservative percentage of votes cast
1903	Liberal	53	46
1908	Conservative	46	53
1912	Conservative	38	61
1917	Liberal	52	48
1920	Liberal	49	27
1925	Conservative	44	53
1930	Conservative	48	52
1935	Liberal	58	42
1939	Liberal	55	45
1944	Liberal	48	40
1948	Liberal	58	31
1952	Conservative	49	49
1956	Conservative	46	52
1960	Liberal	53	46
1963	Liberal	52	48

but have leaned to the political parties supported by the French-speaking counties. Before the turn of the century, they elected two Conservatives for every Liberal, and since then they have leaned heavily to the Liberals. (See Table X)

As one might expect of a minority, the French-speaking constituencies show much steadier tendencies to support the party of their choice than the English-speaking ones. As shown in Period I of Table X (1867-1896), they elected 18 Conservatives to 6 Liberals; in Periods II and III (1900-1911 and 1917-1958), they elected 10 Liberals to 2 Conservatives and 30 Liberals to 6 Conservatives respectively. In Period IV (1962-63), they elected 6 Liberals to no Conservatives. Thus, from 1900 to date they elected 46 Liberals to 8 Conservatives or roughly 6 Liberals to 1 Conservative. The English-speaking constituencies elected 30 Conservatives to 46 Liberals in Period I, 14 Liberals to 16 Conservatives in Period II, 14 Liberals to 50 Conservatives in Period III, and 8 Conservatives to 2 Liberals in Period IV. Clearly, the minority group has the greater solidarity. This is also confirmed by the very much greater majorities secured by the winning candidate in French-speaking constituencies, as seen in Table XI. Out of 104 members elected to represent English-speaking constituencies, only 20 received sufficiently high percentages of the total vote to put them among the highest three in the province in that particular election. However, the French-speaking constituencies show a strong tendency to give the winner a relatively large percentage of the total vote: 28 out of 54 elected members received percentages among the three highest received in the province. Clearly, the difference is very considerable; the French-speaking minority has voted to a considerable extent en bloc, although the trend is less marked since 1935. Figure 3 shows the voting pattern of the three French-speaking constituencies.

The French-speaking minority has been voting en bloc from the time of Confederation and has always supported the party which is less favoured by the

FIGURE 11

THE FRENCH-SPEAKING SHARE OF FEDERAL MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT 1867 - 1963*

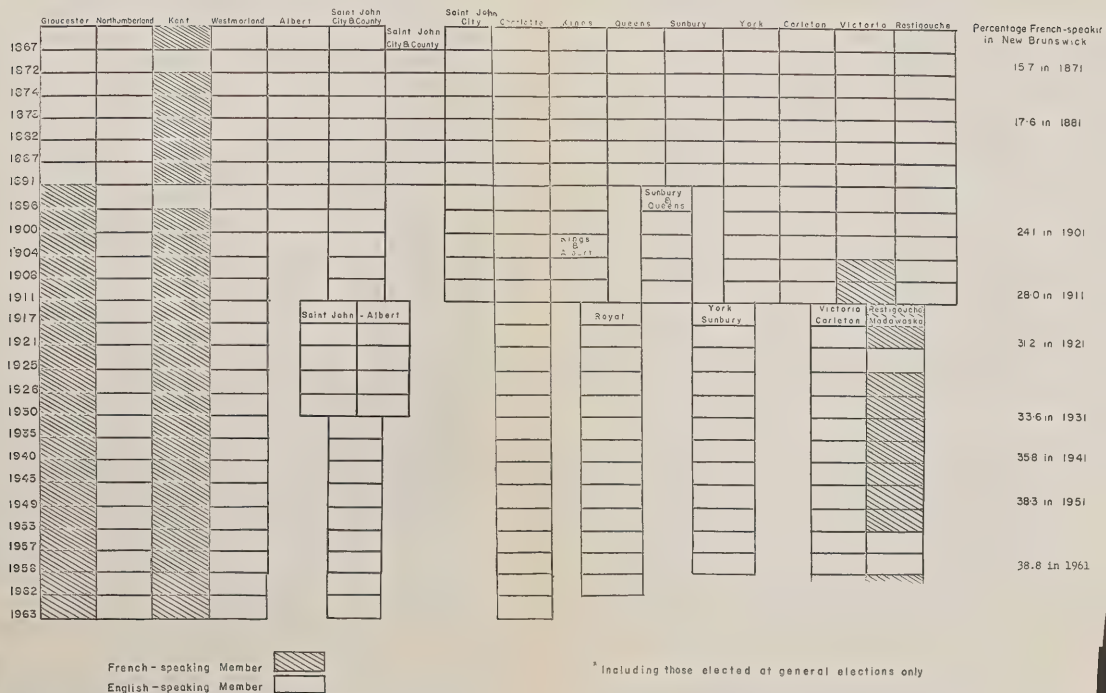


TABLE X

FEDERAL MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT CLASSIFIED BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN AND
CONSTITUENCY COMPOSITION,
1867-1963

Constituencies	French- speaking Liberals	French- speaking Conservatives	English- speaking Liberals	English- speaking Conservatives
		Period I 1867-96		
Over 60% French*	0	6	6	12
20-60% French	0	0	7	14
Less than 20% French	0	0	46	30
		Period II 1900-11		
Over 60% French	8	2	2	0
20-60% French	0	0	11	1
Less than 20% French	0	0	14	16
		Period III 1917-58		
Over 60% French	30	3	0	3
20-60% French	0	0	17	7
Less than 20% French	0	0	14	50
		Period IV 1962-63		
Over 60% French	4	0	2	0
20-60% French	0	0	4	0
Less than 20% French	0	0	2	8

*Fluctuations in population composition in constituencies have not been great enough to take a constituency out of one classification into another.

NOTE: French in this table means French-speaking.

TABLE XI

Percentage of the Total Vote Obtained by the Winning Candidate in Federal General Elections, 1900-63

Constituency	1900	1904	1908	1911	Constituency	1917	1921	1925	1926	1930	1935	1940	1945	1949	1953	1957	1958	1962	1963
<u>English-speaking Constituencies</u>																			
Albert*	52L																		
Carleton	52C	53L	51L	50L	Victoria-Carleton	Acc.L ¹	54Pr	58C	54C	60C	48L	42C	54C	55C	49C	58C ²	60C ²	58C ¹	59C ¹
Charlotte	56C	53C	52L	52C	Charlotte	55C	51C	62C ²	57C ³	58C	51L	58L	50L	50L	52L	53L	53C	49L	51L
Kings*(& Albert)	52C	53C	52L	52C	Royal	68C	41C	57C	55C	60C ³	48C	53C	53C	52C	54C	59C ¹	60C ³	53C ³	54C
Saint John city & county	56C	57C	51C	50L	Saint-John-Albert†	71C ³	50C	62C ³	62C ²	66C ²	48L	50C	47C	49L	49C	54C	64C ¹	52C	52C
Sunbury & Queens	54L	53C	52L	50C															
York	53C	52C	51L	50L ²	York-Sunbury	69C	53C	73C ¹	65C ¹	69C ¹	47L	51C	48L	49L	52L	49C	54C	50C	49C
	51L	51C	57C	63C ²															
<u>Mixed Constituencies</u>																			
Westmorland	53L	56L	58L	50L	Westmorland	57L	61L ³	60C	51C	55C	63L	62L	53L	57L ³	54L	51L	48C	42L	53L
Restigouche	62L ²	60L ³	53L	56L															
Northumberland	56C	53L	59L ²	53L	Northumberland	56L	56L	59C	52L	59C	56L	40C	53L	56L	63L ²	47L	52L	51L	55L
<u>French-speaking Constituencies</u>																			
Gloucester	60L ³	64L ²	55L	59L ³	Gloucester	Acc.L ¹	73L ²	54L	56L	51L	75L ²	66L ²	62L ²	70L ¹	57L ³	58L ³	53L	57L ²	57L ³
Kent	57L	49L	58L ³	52C	Kent	73L	60L	56C	53L	52C	68L ³	65L ³	65L ¹	49L	65L ¹	58L	55L	51L	59L ¹
Victoria																			
(which included Madauskas)	Acc.L ¹	69L ¹	78L ¹	73L ¹	Restigouche- Madauskas	69L	81L ¹	56C	57L	51C	77L ¹	70L ¹	55L ³	65L ²	49L	55C	56C	43C	49L

*The constituencies of Kings and Albert were combined in 1904.

†Saint John-Albert was a two-seat constituency from 1917 to 1930 inclusive.

Note: The letters L and C indicate that the winner is a Liberal or a Conservative respectively. The figures 1, 2 and 3 indicate the highest, second highest, and third highest percentages for each election. Acclamations are considered as the highest percentages.

English-speaking majority. This divergence reached its first peak in the conscription election of 1917, and its second in the depression election of 1935. Since then, the divergences have diminished. As the French-speaking group approaches the English in numbers, it perhaps no longer feels the need to stand so firmly together to defend its interests.

On a per capita basis, the French-speaking population has always been under-represented in federal politics, and this has irritated the Acadian activists. (Figure 4 illustrates this disparity.) This issue, voiced chiefly in L'Evangeline, is not serious, as candidates are nominated separately for each constituency; all constituencies with a French-speaking majority are represented by French-speaking members and have been so represented continuously since 1908, with the exception of Restigouche-Madawaska in 1925, 1957 and 1958, and Kent in 1962 and 1963. It can, however, be argued that the English-speaking part of the province has more representatives per capita than the French-speaking.

In elections subsequent to that of November 1965 this objection will no longer be valid because the new electoral map of New Brunswick has been drawn up so that the representation of the French-speaking people corresponds to their per capita entitlement.

In provincial politics also, the French-speaking population has always been
2
under-represented, but this situation is gradually being corrected. From 1870 to 1908,

2. As there are 52 M.L.A.'s in the legislature, each one should represent 9,917 persons, if representation were to be strictly by population. Actually, they vary from representing 4,461 each in Sunbury to 13,335 in Westmorland. The under-represented counties with the number each M.L.A. represents are: Westmorland, 13,335; Restigouche, 12,070; Gloucester, 11,498; Madawaska, 11,443; Saint John, 10,749; Northumberland, 10,748; York, 10,636. The over-represented counties are: Sunbury, 4,661; Albert, 4,955; Charlotte, 6,284; Queens, 6,603; Carleton, 7,423; Kings, 7,487; Kent, 8,922; Victoria, 9,270. If the counties are grouped into French-speaking, English-speaking, and mixed, the average M.L.A. from a mixed county represents 11,558 persons, from a French-speaking county, 10,621, and from an English-speaking county, 7,723 persons.

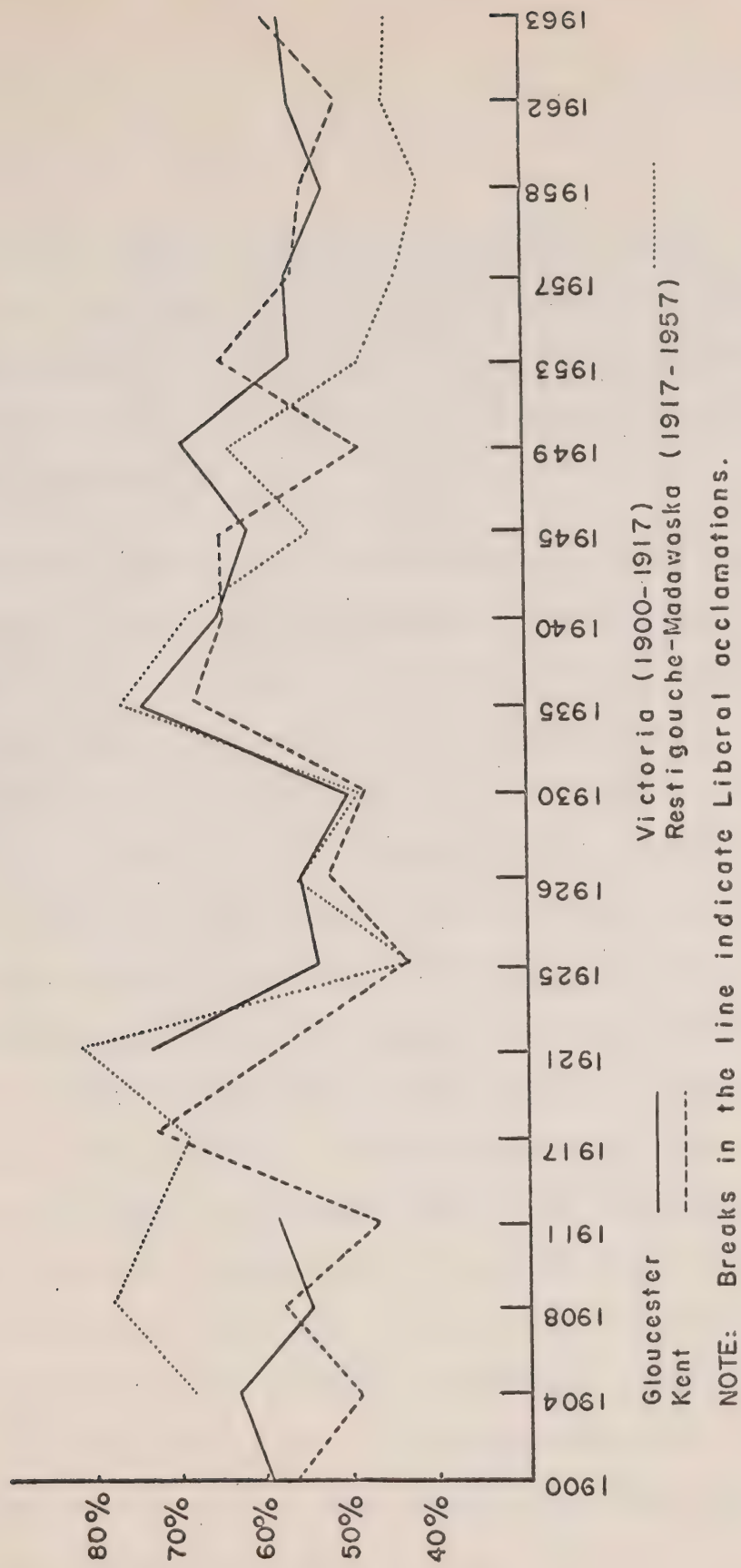


Figure 3.

LIBERAL PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL VOTE IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS 1900-1963
FOR FRENCH-SPEAKING CONSTITUENCIES

they accounted for only 11.7 per cent of the members, but from 1912 to 1956, 20.1 per cent, and in the short period, 1943 to the present, one quarter of all M.L.A.'s were French-speaking. This is still well short of their percentage of the population (38.8 per cent in 1961), but it represents a continuous improvement throughout the period since Confederation.

The under-representation in the legislature of the French-speaking counties is accentuated by their custom of admitting at least one English-speaking candidate to the party slate. Gloucester has always sent at least one English-speaking M.L.A., and from 1944, when its representation was increased from four to five, until 1960, the county returned both an Irish Catholic and an English Protestant. From 1960 to date, the Irish Catholic has been replaced by a French Catholic. Representation in Gloucester is now four French Catholics and one English Protestant. Kent returns an English-speaking Catholic as one of its three representatives. Madawaska is the one French-speaking county that had no English-speaking representative from 1908 to 1952, although it included one from 1952 to 1960. Presently the county is represented by three French-speaking Catholics. The English-speaking counties have never returned a French-speaking member. In the mixed counties, the French-speaking group receives its fair share of members. In Westmorland (44 per cent French by origin), each group has had two representatives since 1952. In Moncton (over one-third French-speaking), each has had one representative since 1948. In Victoria county (42 per cent French by origin), the French-speaking group is not represented at all, and in Northumberland (31 per cent French by origin), one French-speaking member out of four is returned.

The English-speaking counties are clearly over-represented. In fact, with just over 50 per cent of the population of the province they elect 30 out of 52 M.L.A.'s or 58 per cent. The mixed counties, on the other hand, have over 26 per cent of the population and they elect only 21 per cent (11) of the representatives. The French-speaking counties fall between these extremes with 23 per cent of the population and 21 per cent (11) of the M.L.A.'s.

In Restigouche (68 per cent French by origin), two French-speaking and one English-speaking members have been returned from 1948 until the present. The under-representation complained of by L'Evangeline and by the Acadian nationalists is largely to be found where the French-speaking population is in the overwhelming majority and could change the situation easily. Apparently this concern for representation on ethnic lines is not generally shared by the French-speaking population, and certainly not by the leaders of the political parties, at least in these three counties.

In the years following Confederation, the French-speaking counties remained loyal to the Conservatives. In federal politics, this lasted until 1900, or one election after Laurier's victory in 1896. In provincial politics, they remained Conservative until 1917, as did the mixed counties, although in the latter the shift is less marked. (See Table XII)

Period I of Table XII (1903-1912) indicates that the French-speaking counties elected 14 Conservatives to 8 Liberals, the English-speaking ones, 53 Conservatives to 10 Liberals, and the mixed constituencies, 26 Conservatives to 20 Liberals. It was a Conservative period throughout the province, but the English-speaking constituencies elected the largest proportion of Conservatives. Period II (1917-1965), on the other hand, shows a shift to Liberals among both French-speaking and mixed constituencies, while the English-speaking ones remained Conservative. The strength of the shift is impressive: 102 Liberals to 6 Conservatives in the French-speaking counties, and 146 Liberals to 46 Conservatives in the mixed constituencies. The English-speaking ones remained Conservative: 209 to 83. It is apparent that the French-speaking population diverged further from the English-speaking in the more recent period than in the earlier one. Since 1917, they have gone Liberal in 94 per cent of the contests, whereas the English-speaking constituencies remained Conservative in 72 per cent of

TABLE XII

M.L.A.'s Classified by Language Spoken and Constituency Composition
for Two Periods

Constituencies	French-speaking Liberal	French-speaking Conservative	English-speaking Liberal	English-speaking Conservative
Period I 1903-12				
Over 80% French*	6	10	2	4
20-80% French	4	3	16	23
Under 20% French	0	0	19	53
Period II 1917-present(1965)				
Over 80% French*	84	4	18	2
20-80% French	34	11	112	35
Under 20% French	0	0	83	209

*French indicates French by origin

the contests. This tendency is confirmed by the percentages of the total vote going to the Liberal candidates. (See Table XIII)

With the exception of Madawaska in 1944, 1952 and 1956, the Liberals received a higher percentage in all three French-speaking counties than in the province as a whole. Also, during the same period, the slates of candidates receiving the three largest percentages of votes were in the French-speaking counties 21 times out of 36, in the mixed constituencies 6 times out of 79, and in the English-speaking constituencies 10 times out of 134. Clearly, the French-speaking counties give large pluralities to their M.L.A.'s much more frequently than the others; in other words, they are more disposed to vote en bloc than the others. It has already been noted that while the marked preference for the Liberals among the French-speaking population began in 1900 in federal politics, it did not begin until 1917 in provincial politics. Perhaps there was a tendency to vote for Laurier and with the French-Canadians of Quebec in federal elections out of feelings of language, religion and culture, but to continue old habits in provincial politics, especially since a switch to the Liberals might have put the Acadians into the opposition with a consequent loss of control of patronage. However, the strong feelings between religious and ethnic groups raised by the conscription crisis in 1917 brought the Acadians down strongly on the Liberal side where they have since remained, although very recent elections reveal less steadfastness than in earlier years. The period of most intensive bloc voting is from 1917 to 1948. Before that time the French-speaking population supported the same party as the English. In the two elections of 1952 and 1956 which were won by the Conservatives, the Acadians appeared to be moving away from the Liberals in step with the rest of the province - a movement suggesting perhaps growing self-assurance. However, in the two elections of 1960 and 1963, there was a return to the previous tendency to vote en bloc for the Liberals. On both occasions, the Liberals received over 62 per cent of the vote in

TABLE XIII

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VOTE GOING TO LIBERALS IN PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS,
1917-63

Date	Gloucester	Kent	Madawaska	New Brunswick
1917	68	56	73	52
1920	67	*	+	49
1925	56	52	*	44
1930	59	54	68	48
1935	72	70	71	58
1939	70	64	64	55
1944	62	61	47	48
1948	+	65	60	57
1952	59	57	44	49
1956	60	56	41	46
1960	66	62	55	53
1963	64	66	57	52

* Returning Officer failed to supply election figures.

+ An acclamation.

both of the Acadian counties of Gloucester and Kent. In Madawaska, they received 55 per cent and 57 per cent respectively. These were the two elections in which the Liberal party was led by the Hon. Louis J. Robichaud. At the same time, in the nine English-speaking constituencies, the Liberals received 51 per cent or less of the vote in every one except Sunbury. The percentages given to the Liberals in the mixed counties stood between the English-speaking and the French-speaking counties. They ranged from a high of 61 per cent in Northumberland in 1960 to a low of 48 per cent in Victoria in 1963. It would appear from this that the tendency of the Acadians to support the Liberals remains constant. The French-Canadian constituency of Madawaska is much less faithful to the Liberal allegiance.

IV. The Current Acadian Attitude

It is clear that the election of the Robichaud government in 1960 marked a turning point in the development of Acadian self-confidence. This marked the first time in the history of the province that an Acadian had been elected Premier. While it is true that in 1923 Peter Veniot succeeded the Hon. Walter E. Foster as Premier when the latter vacated the office, he did not succeed in winning the subsequent election of 1925. Therefore, Louis Robichaud is the first elected Acadian Premier of New Brunswick. He has succeeded in being re-elected in the election of 1963 with an even larger majority of M.L.A.'s than in 1960, although the Liberal percentage of the popular vote dropped from 53 to 52 per cent of the total. Not only is the Premier presently an Acadian, but half of the positions in the Cabinet are presently held by French-speaking people. This is the first time that this has been the case. The posts held by them are among the most important in the Cabinet: Provincial Secretary, Minister of Public Works, Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Health, Minister of Municipal Affairs, and Minister of Fisheries. Of the key departments in the government, only that of Finance and Industry, and Education are not in Acadian hands. This situation has naturally changed the attitude prevailing among the Acadians. No longer can they see themselves as a persecuted minority excluded from the seats of the mighty. Now they are assured that they are an influential part of the provincial community whose wants must be taken into consideration. In a sense they now view the government as their own, rather than an emanation of the English-speaking majority.

This situation has seen Acadian leaders assume positions of influence and has put others in close contact with influential persons. The result is a change in the techniques employed by the Acadians to secure their ends. Whereas previously they used to engage in rather dramatic polemics, decrying their situation and encouraging

one another to greater efforts, now they take sure-footed steps in a very practical way to achieve their ends. In large measure, the government has been their vehicle to attain these. Among their successes is the setting up of the University of Moncton as a French-speaking (bilingual) equivalent of the University of New Brunswick, the setting up of the Vanier high school in Moncton as a bilingual secondary school catering to the Acadian population of the city, the permission for the teaching of a commercial course in this high school, the directive from the Premier instructing all deputy ministers to see that letters are answered in the language (English or French) of the person communicating with the government, the announcement in the Speech from the Throne in 1965 of the opening of a bilingual teachers college on the campus of the University of Moncton. There have been other changes too which the Acadians welcomed, such as the establishment of a Department of Fisheries which is the only department in the government in which the French language predominates and which is headed by an Acadian minister and deputy minister. Also, the setting up of the Byrne Commission to investigate the financing of local government was welcomed because the Acadian counties, because of their relatively poor economic position, had paid higher taxes per dollar of assessment than the other counties and had received inferior services. The Commission recommended changes which will make the central government responsible for much of the taxation and services which previously were left to local government authorities. The government has already indicated that it proposes to implement many of the recommendations of this commission.

Another example of growing Acadian self-confidence is their willingness now to carry their grievances directly to the government. For example, during the month of August 1965, demonstrations began in the Lamèque-Miscou region of Gloucester county against high municipal taxes. A meeting was held at Grand-Anse. An association was formed under the name L'Association des Contribuables de Gloucester. It urged tax-

payers not to pay their taxes until its demand for subsidies from the provincial treasury had been fully agreed to. In addition it demanded immediate implementation of certain of the recommendations contained in the Byrne Report, especially those relating to education. Similar organizations were formed in the counties of Kent and Northumberland. The Kent taxpayers undertook to refuse to pay their taxes unless the government agreed to a better treatment of the taxpayers of Gloucester. These county taxpayers' associations organized a march on Fredericton in which about 60 automobiles transported about 200 taxpayers to the capital city. They carried placards inscribed with such slogans as: "We want subsidies", "We want the Byrne Report", "Taxpayers of Kent demand justice", "Injustice in the system of taxation", "We want just taxes", "Gloucester has the highest taxes and the lowest salaries". All five M.L.A.'s from Gloucester accompanied the delegation despite the fact that they are government members and one of them speaker of the House. Seventeen of the leaders of the demonstration met the cabinet, which received them with courtesy. At the same time about 200 of the taxpayers in the delegation massed in front of the office of the Premier. The Premier informed the delegation that he could not possibly accede to their demand for subsidies because it would create a precedent for other counties to make similar requests and secondly because no provision for such an outlay had been made in the budget. He said that provisions of the Byrne Report are being placed before the Legislature in the autumn.

This demonstration reveals a very changed attitude among the Acadians. Clearly they feel they will be listened to by the Premier and his government and they consider that this sort of demonstration is likely to bring results. Such actions are only undertaken by people with considerable self-confidence and awareness of their importance in the community.

All of these changes add up to very remarkable progress on the part of the Acadians in the economic and political life of New Brunswick. The Acadians are well aware of the progress they have made, but they are divided in their attitude toward the government. Some are impatient and think the government should move more quickly to give them what they consider to be their rights. Others recognize the delicate position of the government, and in some cases are even concerned lest the government move too fast and thereby alienate English opinion. It is clear that the government is walking a very difficult tightrope. No party can possibly govern New Brunswick without the support of a very substantial part of the English-speaking community. Therefore, concessions made to the French-speaking population must be concessions which are approved by a majority of the English-speaking people themselves on the ground that they are just and fair concessions, or that they are necessary in order to preserve harmony and good relations between the two ethnic groups.

It is noteworthy that Premier Robichaud in his public addresses has emphasized time and time again the bonne entente which exists between the two groups in the province. When he does so he is not merely stating a fact; he is advocating an attitude of mind; indeed a policy for the people of his province. Only as long as the English-speaking people will accept concessions to the Acadians can they be granted the things they want and feel they are entitled to. If too much is granted too soon, there is, of course, a danger of a reaction on the part of the English-speaking population which some people have designated as a "backlash". If this should develop in significant proportions, it would probably take the form of the Acadians concentrating their support behind the Liberals, and the English-speaking people turning to the Conservatives. Such a situation would open the door to enormous bitterness and could bring hostility between the two groups. Moreover, in the past the relations between them have in general been surprisingly good; much of the reason for this is traceable to the patience,

mildness and humility of the Acadians. They have now outgrown this attitude and are no longer prepared to accept a secondary role indefinitely. Therefore, the situation is becoming much more difficult to deal with. It is necessary now that the English-speaking population recognize the legitimacy of many of the demands being made by the Acadians and accommodate them in a spirit of fair play and equality. It is clear now that the Acadians are coming to be a group that will no longer accept a subordinate status but which is willing to co-operate with generosity and understanding with the English-speaking population.

In view of this situation, one can readily understand the attitude of Premier Robichaud in strongly condemning separatist manifestations in Quebec. If there is one province in Canada which depends particularly heavily upon the continued good relations between English and French in Canada, it is the province of New Brunswick - and obviously the Premier is very much aware of this. While he has made changes which have met many of the most insistent demands of his own people, he has also been careful to reassure the English-speaking population. He has showed himself to be a true Maritimer in sentiment, suggesting Maritime union and agreeing to the setting up of working committees to investigate this matter. He has placed heavy emphasis upon rapid economic growth in order to enlist the interest and co-operation of both groups in the development of the province. This has been accomplished by successfully attracting outside investment to the province, especially in the mining and pulp and paper industries. The opening of the Belledune complex in Gloucester county is the most spectacular of many such developments. The beginning of the giant hydro electric development on the St. John River at Mactaquac by the New Brunswick Electric Power Commission shows the government's direct involvement in economic expansion. Another approach to economic growth is revealed in the activities of the New Brunswick Development Corporation which has set up the large chemical park at Dorchester Cape.

This is an industrial complex which has been developed at government initiative and which is being sold to private interests. The New Brunswick Development Corporation is engaged in the development of other industries which it hopes to interest private buyers in acquiring. These developments are taking place in all parts of the province and benefit both English-speaking and French-speaking New Brunswickers. If this pace of economic growth can be maintained and employment sustained, the chances of good relations between the two ethnic groups continuing will be greatly augmented.

The great success of the Acadians in gaining concessions from the government in recent years has been paralleled by a growing maturity and sophistication among the Acadian elite. While this elite remains small, it is no longer confined to the clergy and the liberal professions. Now there is a small nucleus of Acadian men of affairs who are active in private business and the various Acadian organizations. The Société l'Assomption has become very successful as a mutual insurance company and it has founded the Compagnie de Gestion Atlantique, a subsidiary holding company which manages several private business enterprises among which the newspaper, L'Evangeliste is about to enter. This small nucleus has undertaken to speak for the bulk of the Acadian population, and to act on their behalf to secure concessions. Many of the same people are to be found on the executive of la Société L'Assomption, la Société Nationale des Acadiens, l'Association Acadienne d'Education, etc. They are devout Catholics and work closely with the hierarchy of the Church in defining the goals of the Acadian community. They no longer content themselves by exhorting their fellows to defend their language and religion, and by making oratorical and editorial claims for representation in government agencies. Now they have come to know how both government and business are organized and they participate as sure-footed initiates who know their way around. They now go directly to the persons responsible and claim what they see as rightly theirs. This task is made easier now by virtue of the fact

that many of their own people are themselves in positions of power and influence. Now, at least in provincial government agencies, it is seldom a problem of asking for an Acadian place, but rather a matter of finding a suitably qualified Acadian to fill the position. In the matter of qualified personnel, especially in the more technical fields, the Acadians are still less able to supply trained people than the English-speaking community. This, however, is being corrected as rapidly as possible through the work of the University of Moncton and the growing maturity of the Acadian business and professional community.

A further manifestation of Acadian maturity in social organization can be seen in the SONA campaign. This is a voluntary annual campaign for funds to support various Acadian enterprises. The 1965 campaign objective is \$50,000, with the major project being the support of French classes in Fredericton. The first \$4,000 raised is committed to that purpose. Other organizations to benefit are the Société Nationale des Acadiens, the Association Acadienne d'Education, the Société St. Thomas d'Aquin, the French-speaking organization on Prince Edward Island, l'Association Acadienne d'Education de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, la Fédération des Associations Générales des Etudiants des Collèges Acadiens, the Federation of Student Associations, la Fédération des Associations Foyer-Ecole du N.B. (This is the Home and School Association), the Guides Catholiques, Région Atlantique (the Catholic Girl Guides). This campaign is carried on on the basis of a door-to-door solicitation which is organized very much like a community chest campaign. A \$10,000 donation by the Quebec government, which was announced in January 1965 by Pierre Laporte, the Quebec Minister of Cultural Affairs, set the campaign off this year. Clearly this is the type of social service organization that is typical of a modern developed community. Its existence testifies to the fact that the Acadians have adopted the modern urban methods of social and economic organization. Also it reveals that a substantial number of Acadians have achieved urban middle class status.

The attitude of the Acadians toward French-Canada deserves special notice. The Acadians have long regarded themselves as a separate people from the French-Canadians. This is demonstrated by their setting up of a separate national society, la Société Nationale des Acadiens, a separate anthem, Ave Maria Stella, the separate feast day, the day of the Assumption, and the distinctive Acadian flag, the Tricolore Etoile. They have fraternal feelings toward the French-Canadians and welcome the new vitality of French-Canada. This inspires them to do likewise, but it does not lead them to feel that they are part of the French-Canadian community. They remain Acadians. They show gratitude for the help, financial and moral, which reaches them from Quebec. However, they are aware that they are part of New Brunswick and the Maritime Provinces. They do not desire to be annexed by the Province of Quebec. While in general they have not supported Premier Robichaud's initiative in the direction of Maritime union on the ground that Maritime union would mean that they would be swamped in a much larger English-speaking community and thereby might lose much of their voice in the direction of the affairs of the enlarged province, they remain Maritimers by conviction. They are in general proud of the good relations that they have been able to develop with their English-speaking neighbours, and think of themselves as more practical empirical people than their French-Canadian neighbours. They see themselves also as less emotional and headstrong and thereby more capable of developing a bonne entente. This attitude is not nearly as evident in Madawaska where the population is largely French-Canadian as it is in the north shore counties. The Madawaskan attitude toward Quebec is much more positive, and many people would happily see their county annexed to that province. This is a sentiment which is almost non-existent in the Acadian counties of eastern New Brunswick.

The attitude of the English-speaking population is important in assessing the developments in the Acadian community. In general, the relations between the two groups

have remained very good. As the Acadians have come more and more into the economic life of the province, they have come more in contact with the English-speaking people and this contact has usually been one of mutual confidence and respect. The language in which it is made is almost always English as the English-speaking people seldom are able to speak French sufficiently to make themselves understood, and in those cases where they can, they usually choose not to do so lest they be embarrassed before those who speak the language well. This, of course, is a pattern that exists throughout Canada which tends to make relations between the two groups more difficult than they would otherwise be. The New Brunswick educational system is not one which has succeeded in teaching the English-speaking people to use the French language in conversation. This is so much the case that the term 'bilingual' in New Brunswick has developed a peculiar meaning. It refers to a person who is of French origin and speaks both French and English. When one wishes to designate an English-speaking person who can speak French, this fact needs a sentence or two of explanation; the term 'bilingual' will not do.

The English-speaking people of New Brunswick are still predominantly Protestant but the old narrow sectarian spirit with its anti-papist overtones is no longer in the ascendant. The Orange Lodge, while still an active social organization in the counties along the St. John River valley, no longer mounts public attacks on Catholicism. It is no longer respectable to come out publicly against the Roman Catholic Church. As elsewhere in Canada, the Protestant population of New Brunswick has become increasingly tolerant and broadminded. Greater involvement in commerce and professional life and greater mobility and awareness of trends outside the province have developed a spirit of mutual understanding and tolerance which was not present in earlier years.

The English-speaking Roman Catholics who are mostly of Irish origin no longer

look upon themselves as entitled to dominate the Catholic Church in New Brunswick. The Acadians now have their own prelates, the hierarchy of the Church is now mostly French-speaking and the Irish have come to accept this as a normal state of affairs. Therefore, the old bitterness and rivalry between the Irish and the French is no longer evident in the way it was in the past. However, the presence of two Roman Catholic recreational centres in the city of Moncton a stone's throw from one another, one French and the other Irish, attests to the fact that the communities still feel themselves separate one from another.

The attitude of the English-speaking people of New Brunswick towards the French-speaking people is a very complex one indeed. There are a few who consider that the French must be granted complete equality with the English and go so far as to say that French should be made an official language in the province. This sentiment revealed itself dramatically in the meeting held in Moncton by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism when a spokesman of the New Brunswick Home and School Association advocated that the French language be made official in the province. This opinion, however, is shared only by a small minority of the English-speaking people. Most would like to see the status quo maintained and would like to see the English language preserved as the only official language in the province. Most of such people however, would agree that the French-speaking people have a right to their own language and religion and are happy to see them enjoying their own schools and associations. However, they do not wish themselves to have to become bilingual. The comment, "Nobody is going to make me learn French" occurs too often to be ignored when speaking to English-speaking New Brunswickers. Then, there are some English-speaking people who think that the extension of French schools into the English-speaking part of New Brunswick should be resisted. This situation was dramatically revealed in the controversy over French classes in the Fredericton public schools.

The French-speaking community in the City of Fredericton has now reached the point where, according to the spokesman for this group, it amounts to 250 families. In October of 1963 a brief on behalf of these people drawn up by the Cercle Français de Fredericton was presented to the board of school trustees. The brief asked that one of the new classrooms which were to be opened for the expanding school population, be set aside for French-speaking children of the first three grades. It suggested that the teacher be a person whose mother tongue is French, who was educated in New Brunswick and who would follow the curriculum prepared by the Department of Education for the French-speaking schools of the province. This class, the brief suggested, would be adequate to take care of the French-speaking children for the first three years. After that, another class would have to be added each year until the first six grades were thus provided for, "after which pupils could transfer to regular grade VII and follow the regular curriculum to the end of the course"². An appendix to the brief showed that the one classroom proposed for 1964 would have 39 pupils in the first three grades, 45 pupils in the following year, and in 1966, two classrooms would be required to accommodate classes of 34 and 30 pupils respectively. For 1967, it foresaw two classes, one of 44 and one of 45 pupils. In 1968, the projection was for 49 pupils in one, 34 pupils in a second, and 30 pupils in a third. In June of 1965, the Fredericton Board of School Trustees announced that it had taken into account all of the reasons advanced by the Acadians for granting French classes to their children, but decided not to accede to the requests. The spokesman for the Cercle Français de Fredericton, Mr. Rudolph Chaisson, offered to discuss the matter at a round table at which members of the committee of the Cercle Français would be present to answer questions posed by members of the school board. He said also that the French group was prepared to

2. Brief to the School Trustees, City of Fredericton, On Education Problems of French-speaking Families Living in the City of Fredericton.

organize French classes itself if its requests were refused. The school board chose to discuss the question in private, however, and then made its announcement.

This refusal led to a strong editorial attack in L'Evangeline entitled "Bigotry in Fredericton". The editorial said that this refusal gives a striking example of the bonne entente in New Brunswick! It went on to state that this refusal represented an attempt to prevent further French-speaking families from coming to Fredericton because, without French schools, Acadians would stay away from the provincial civil service simply in order to prevent their children from becoming anglicized. "The people who refuse us French classes for our children are the very people who complain about separatism and condemn it..." "This act of bigotry does nothing but increase prejudice and discrimination. By such acts the bonne entente only represents a myth; it is a farce which has lasted too long and which should be done away with. The time should be passed when we have to demand and request. Now we should give justice her chance to accomplish her work democratically; but, unhappily, justice is coming too often to be a synonym for majority and here we are only a minority, however imposing." ³ (author's translation)

The cause of French classes in Fredericton became a cause célèbre in the Acadian organizations of the province. At the convention of the Société Nationale des Acadiens held in Caraquet in August of 1965, Dr. Léon Richard of Moncton, the president of the society, announced that the first \$4,000 raised by the SONA (Souscriptions en faveur des Oeuvres Nationales Acadiennes) would be devoted to the setting up of French ⁴ classes in Fredericton for the ensuing academic year. This act dramatized the determination of the Acadian leadership to provide education in the French language for their people in Fredericton. Many Acadian leaders welcomed this opportunity to

3. L'Evangeline, June 25, 1965.

4. L'Evangeline, August 13, 1965.

demonstrate their determination, and show up what they considered to be the bigotry of the English-speaking school board in the provincial capital. This incident shows how delicate is the bonne entente in Fredericton. As long as the status quo is maintained, harmony reigns, but when a change comes about there is danger of friction.

In recent years, many Acadians have moved from northern New Brunswick into the more prosperous urban areas of the south, particularly to Moncton, Saint John and Fredericton. Once these communities have become sufficiently large and firmly established, they naturally seek to have their own institutions of various kinds. This inevitably involves schools for their children and this request in turn is likely to cause friction with the English-speaking majority. The Fredericton case is the most dramatic of these incidents, although Moncton too has had several such. The issue of the establishment of the Vanier bilingual high school was one and the question of whether it was to be permitted to give the commercial course was another. In both cases, the Acadians won their demands. In civic politics also in Moncton there has been some friction and complaint. For example, the Acadians have complained of inadequate numbers of jobs being made available to them in the public service of the city. Also they have complained of the unilingual character of the city government. This was especially acute earlier in 1965 when the city celebrated its 75th anniversary⁵ and its signs, programs, etc. were to L'Evangeline's eyes in English only.

Among the English-speaking farmers and working people, one discerns some apprehension of the French-speaking population. There is concern lest they migrate into the predominantly English-speaking areas in large numbers and take jobs which

5. See L'Evangeline, July 28th and August 10th, 1965.

For discussion of discrimination in the civil service of Moncton, see L'Evangeline, June 12th, 1965 and May 7th, 1965.

might otherwise go to the indigenous English-speaking people. For example, in York and Carleton counties, the writer heard complaints that jobs on the large Mactaquac power project were being given to people who were not native to the area but who came in from northern New Brunswick and were mostly French-speaking. Such complaints were often accompanied by comment that the government was "pro-French"; therefore, they reasoned French-speaking people were getting the jobs. They seemed unaware that the project is being carried out by private contractors. However unjustified such complaints may be, they testify to the existence of an attitude which prevails among some of the more poorly educated, unskilled English-speaking people. This feeling of apprehension is sustained by the irrefutable fact that the population of French-origin in the predominantly English area is increasing at a fairly rapid rate, and this is bound to enliven such sentiments and awaken old prejudices.

Politically, the Acadians have long supported the Liberal party, as the
6
analysis above makes clear. However, the Liberals have drawn support from substantial elements of the English-speaking communities as well. Unless they had done so, they could not have formed the government. However, before Louis Robichaud became leader of the party, the party was always led by an English-speaking New Brunswicker, with the single exception of Peter Veniot in the 1920's. Indeed since Veniot's time the leader has been a Protestant in each case except that of Allison Dysart, a Catholic of Scottish origin who was Premier from 1935 to 1939. However, with the Robichaud leadership and the large number of French-speaking persons occupying important positions in the Cabinet, some people have come to the view that the Acadians have an unduly large voice in the government and in the Liberal party. Table XV shows the Liberal percentage of votes cast in the three most recent provincial elections. In 1956 the

Table XIV

Census Subdivisions of Where Population of French Origin over 95% of Population

Showing Voting in Federal Elections

Compiled from Report of the Chief Electoral Officer for the respective elections, and Census of Canada, 1951

Census Subdivision	1957		1958		other	1962		other	1963		other
	L	C	L	C		L	C		L	C	
<u>Madawaska County</u>											
Baker Brook	280	289	279	315	4	247	238	12	227	19	224
Baker Lake	179	154	184	168	1	167	126	11	152	11	142
Clair	198	188	196	222	1	213	136	10	240	21	111
Madawaska	172	339	175	355	1	242	333	21	258	39	299
Notre Dame-de-Lourdes	110	161	101	182	2	114	128	5	88	16	120
Riviere Verte	181	366	194	431	2	320	284	17	287	34	262
St. Andre	340	371	385	419	13	399	365	42	399	73	326
St. Anne	445	396	472	519	8	455	409	28	513	55	421
St. Basil	610	487	636	562	11	576	589	38	568	106	445
St. Hilaire	118	98	114	109	0	123	107	1	135	14	86
St. Jacques	266	498	291	520	2	457	374	20	425	54	388
St. Joseph	147	253	140	281	2	184	247	4	147	17	251
St. Leonard	381	525	392	610	3	455	365	34	402	82	384
<u>Northumberland County</u>											
Rogersville	646	275	666	388	-	642	245	103	393	101	119
<u>Restigouche County</u>											
Balmoral	117	83	99	98	3	111	63	35	116	50	47
Grimmer	408	381	410	404	14	378	281	93	348	94	336
St. Quentin	651	782	540	593	14	553	348	427	565	131	612
<u>Kent County</u>											
Acadieville	351	154	319	162	-	286	151	37	311	117	16
Dundas	927	588	854	950	-	894	468	119	751	327	136
St. Charles	378	174	364	189	-	292	128	67	358	123	30
St. Louis	597	391	614	373	-	514	357	81	553	265	75
<u>Gloucester County</u>											
Allardville	430	388	445	459	-	445	339	-	435	83	355
Beresford	1909	1150	1861	1355	-	1707	1227	-	1657	449	893
Caraquet	1420	1050	1336	1267	-	1469	1243	-	1487	362	733
St. Isidore	535	308	521	341	-	472	286	-	480	91	172
Snippigan	1699	1227	1684	1656	-	1802	1632	-	1686	383	1214

TABLE XV

LIBERAL PERCENTAGES OF VOTES CAST IN THE THREE
RECENT PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS

	<u>1956</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1963</u>
<u>French-speaking Constituencies</u>			
Gloucester	60	66	64
Kent	56	62	66
Madawaska	41	55	57
<u>Mixed Constituencies</u>			
Northumberland	50	61	56
Restigouche	42	59	50
Victoria	43	50	48
Westmorland	55	56	56
Moncton	44	52	51
<u>English-speaking Constituencies</u>			
Albert	36	45	39
Carleton	30	42	35
Charlotte	44	51	51
Kings	39	44	42
Queens	45	48	45
Saint John City	37	44	50
Saint John County	35	34	44
Sunbury	49	59	54
York	42	46	41

TABLE XVI

CONSTITUENCY REPRESENTATION IN THE PROVINCIAL CABINET SINCE 1900

Constituency	1963	1960	1956	1952	1948	1944	1939	1935	1930	1925	1920	1917	1912	1908	1903	Number of Cabinet reps.	Total times supporting govt
Government was:	L	L	C	C	L	L	L	L	C	C	L	L	C	C	L		
Albert			G*	G*	G	G	G	G	G	G*			G	G	G	3	10
Carleton			G*	G*	(i)				G	G			G*	G*		4	6 (iv)
Charlotte	G**	G**	G*	G*	G*	G*	G*	G*	G*	G*			G*	G*		13	13
Gloucester	G*	G*			G*	G*	G*	G*			G**	G*	G			9	9
Kent	G**	G**			G*	G	G*	G*			G	G	G*	G*	G	9	11
Kings			G*	G*				G	G	G			G*	G	G*	4	8
Madawaska	G*	G*	G*	G*	G*	G*	G	G			G*	G*				8	11
Northumberland	G*	G*	(i)		G**	G*	G*	G*		G	G	G*	G*	G*	G*	11	12 (iv)
Queens			G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G	G*	G	G	G	G*	2	12
Restigouche	G*	G*	G*	G*	G*	G*	(i)	G	G*	G*	(ii)		G		G*	8	11 (iv)
Saint John City	(i)*		G**	G**	G*	G*		G**	G*	G	G**	(i)	G*	G*	G*	15	10 (iv)
Saint John County			G	G	G				G*	G*	G		G	G	G*	3	9
Sunbury	G*	G*	G	G	G*	G*	G*	G	G	G	G*	G	G	G*		7	14
Victoria	(i)	G	G	G	G*	G**	G*					G**	G		G	6	9 (iv)
Westmorland	G**	G**			G*	G*	G*	G*	G**	G*	G*	G*	G		G*	14	12
York			G**	G**	G*	G*	G*	G*	G*	G*			G*	G*	G	11	10
Moncton City	G*	G*	G*	G*	G	G*	G*	G	G*	G	G*	G*	G	(iii)	(iii)	9	13

Notes: (i) indicates vote split; candidates from both parties returned; (ii) returning officer failed to report election result; (iii) constituency did not exist at that time; (iv) plus one case where candidates from both parties returned.
 Each * indicates one cabinet representative from that constituency.
 G indicates that the county supported the government.
 L indicates a Liberal government.
 C indicates a Conservative government.

Liberal party was led by the late Austin C. Taylor, a Protestant farmer in Westmorland county, and in the other two more recent elections it was led by Premier Louis Robichaud. In every constituency in the province, the Liberal percentage increased in 1960 over what it had been in 1956 with the single exception of Saint John county where the election was complicated by the presence of two Independent candidates. The increased Liberal percentage in 1960 over 1956 was most striking in the two counties in which there is a large French-Canadian vote, Madawaska and Restigouche counties, where the increase was 14 and 17 percentage points respectively. In the two Acadian counties of Gloucester and Kent, the Liberal percentages were already so high that there was little room for very large increases, although they did go up six percentage points each.

From 1960 to 1963, however, the Liberal percentage dropped in every English-speaking and mixed constituency in the province with the exception of Westmorland which remained the same and Saint John City and county where particular local candidatures⁷ tended to obscure the wider provincial issue. The support for the Liberal party in the French-speaking constituencies rose in Kent by four percentage points and in Madawaska by two. It declined in Gloucester by two. Moreover, the percentages in all of these three French-speaking counties remained high. Some local observers commented to the writer that one of the reasons for the decline of the Liberal vote in some of the English constituencies is traceable to resentment at the sudden increase in influence and power of the French-speaking population. Presumably also, the rigid

7. In 1963, the Hon. D. A. Riley who had previously been Member of Parliament for Saint John-Albert was a candidate for the Liberal party. He did not run in 1960 and it is considered that his candidature seriously affected the support the Liberal party enjoyed. In 1960, the Liberal vote is exceptionally low because of the addition of Independent candidates in Saint John county.

stand of the Fredericton school board when asked for French classes by the French-speaking people of Fredericton also suggests the same feeling of resistance to French expansion that appears to be growing among some elements of the English-speaking population.

In the past, while the population of French origin often shared whole counties with populations of British origin, it was concentrated in communities which were almost entirely French-speaking. Thus there were certain areas of the mixed counties that were overwhelmingly French and others which were largely English. There were a few in which the two groups were intermingled. This pattern is characteristic of the rural areas; however with urbanization and industrialization, we find that the cities are coming to be made up of both English and French-speaking people. Moncton is the classic example of a mixed community in which there is inevitably an element of rivalry between the groups for positions of influence and power in the civic administration and voluntary groups in the community. In recent years large numbers of French-speaking people have been moving into the larger towns such as Campbellton, Bathurst and even the overwhelmingly English towns and cities such as Fredericton and Saint John. This newer pattern in which a change is taking place from an overwhelmingly English-speaking community to a mixed one, is one in which there is much greater likelihood of friction than the previous one where social distance was maintained by largely homogeneous communities.

However, certain characteristics of the earlier situation remain as holdovers in the present, and help to minimize tensions. In the past, the existence of self-contained social groupings made up of either English-speaking or French-speaking people fostered self-contained social communities which offered their members all the social outlets they required. There was, therefore, a certain social distance between the

English-speaking and French-speaking people which prevented clashes and made it possible for them to live in close proximity to one another without friction or animosity. This condition has been transferred from the self-contained, small, largely rural communities to the modern cities. For example, in Moncton the French-speaking people have their own churches, their own recreational facilities, their own newspaper and now even their own high school. It is only where the two groups are thrust together in a position which encourages rivalry such as in the field of municipal government, that some friction occurs.

In this field, the town of Bathurst offers a very good example of how harmonious accommodation can be worked out between the two ethnic groups. The office of mayor passes from a French Catholic to an English Protestant to English Catholic and then back to a French Catholic. There is a gentleman's agreement that this order of succession will be respected so that each group knows that it will receive its share of the entitlement. Similar arrangements exist in the field of provincial politics where, for example, in Northumberland county the ticket is normally made up of one French Catholic, one Irish Catholic and two English Protestants, and in Westmorland county, where it is made up of two French Catholics and two English Protestants. While this type of arrangement may result in imperfections of representation, it does serve to reassure each group that its position is secure and will be respected. The beneficial results stemming from this feeling of confidence generally outweigh any considerations favouring precise proportional representation.

However, it is in the rapidly growing cities where such conventions had not had time to take root that problems may arise. The city of Saint John has attracted substantial numbers of workers of French origin from northern New Brunswick. They are mainly employed in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs and have few attributes of a

distinct community organization such as their own parish or social and service clubs. The 1961 census shows the population of Saint John to be 14 per cent French by ethnic origin.⁸ The situation in Fredericton is quite different where there is a nucleus of educated people who occupy positions of importance in the government and the civil service. There one finds an active Cercle Français which undertakes active measures to protect the privileges of the French-speaking minority, and seeks to guard against its assimilation into the English-speaking majority.

8. Table 83, Bulletin 1.3-2, Census of Canada, 1961.

TABLE XVII

Age Distribution in Selected Provinces and Canada, 1961
Expressed in Percentages*

<u>Area</u>	<u>19 Years and Under</u>	<u>20 to 54 Years</u>	<u>Over 55 Years</u>
New Brunswick	47	39	14
Nova Scotia	43	41	16
Ontario	39	45	16
Quebec	44	44	12
Canada	42	43	15

*Census of Canada 1961, Bulletin 1.2, Table 20.

TABLE XVIII

FEDERAL CABINET MINISTERS FROM NEW BRUNSWICK, 1896-1965

Minister	Department	From	To
A. G. Blair	Railways and Canals	1896	1902
None	None	1902	1903
H. R. Emmerson	Railways and Canals	1904	1907
W. Pugsley	Public Works	1907	1911
J. D. Hazen	Marine and Fisheries and Naval Service	1911	1917
F. B. Carvell	Public Works	1917	1919
None	None	1919	1920
R. W. Wigmore	Customs and Inland Revenue	1920	1921
A. B. Copp	Secretary of State	1921	1925
None	None	1925	1926
Peter Veniot	Postmaster General	1926	1930
Murray MacLaren	Pensions and National Health	1930	1934
R. B. Hanson	Trade and Commerce	1934	1935
J. E. Michaud	Fisheries	1935	1942
J. E. Michaud	Transport	1942	1944
H. F. G. Bridges	Fisheries	1944	1947
M. F. Gregg	Fisheries	1947	1948
M. F. Gregg	Veterans' Affairs	1948	1950
M. F. Gregg	Labour	1950	1957
A. J. Brooks	Veterans' Affairs	1957	1960
H. J. Flemming	Forestry	1960	1962
H. J. Robichaud	Fisheries	1962	

TABLE XIX

Percentage Population Distribution by Age Groups
in the Counties of New Brunswick

<u>English-speaking Counties</u>	<u>19 Years and Under</u>	<u>20 to 54 Years</u>	<u>Over 55 Years</u>
Albert	45	41	14
Carleton	45	37	18
Charlotte	40	39	21
Kings	42	38	20
Northumberland	50	37	13
Queen's	44	38	18
Saint John	41	43	16
Sunbury	50	43	7
York	42	43	15
<u>French-speaking Counties</u>			
Gloucester	55	33	12
Kent	52	33	15
Madawaska	54	35	11
<u>Mixed Counties</u>			
Restigouche	52	36	12
Victoria	51	36	13
Westmorland	44	41	15
New Brunswick	47	39	14

*Census of Canada 1961, Series 1.2, Table 22.

TABLE XX

Rural-Urban Breakdown of English-Speaking
and French-Speaking Population of New Brunswick*

	<u>Percentage of the English-speaking Population</u>	<u>Percentage of the French-speaking Population</u>
Cities of 30,000 population and over	29	3
Cities of 10,000 population to 29,999	11	7
Cities of under 10,000 population	12	11
Rural non-farm population	38	64
Farm population	10	15

*Computed from Census of Canada, 1961, Bulletin 1.2-9, Table 65.

